PROCEEDINGS OF THE
NEW JERSEY
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
VOLUME LXXII, NUMBER 4, OCTOBER 1954
WHOLE NUMBER 279

Elmer Tindall Hutchinson 1882-1954

GEORGE C. ROCKEFELLER

For his many friends the death of Elmer Hutchinson, corresponding secretary of the New Jersey Historical Society, will be an inestimable loss. The Society has indeed been fortunate ever since it was founded in 1845 in having a succession of corresponding secretaries each one possessed of a thorough knowledge of New Jersey history. Mr. Hutchinson was the fifth to serve the Society in that capacity and was the worthy successor of those who preceded him.

Elmer Tindall Hutchinson was born in Jersey City, N. J., on September 10, 1882. His father was Aaron Tindall Hutchinson, born in Hamilton Square, Mercer County, New Jersey, who followed the trade of cabinetmaker. His mother was Ada England Hutchinson, born in Brooklyn. When Elmer was seven years old, the family moved to Brooklyn and there he attended the public schools.

The family's residence in Elizabeth, New Jersey, dates from the year 1900, when Elmer was eighteen. It was probably soon after this that he went to work in the accounting department of the Pennsylvania Railroad, later transferring to the Singer

THE WRITER: Mr. Rockefeller is a bibliographer and historian whose work is already known to readers of the PROCEEDINGS. He and Mr. Hutchinson, both students of early New Jersey printing, had been friends for many years. They were engaged together on a book about Newark printing and printers, at the time of Mr. Hutchinson's death.

Manufacturing Company, well-known maker of sewing machines in Elizabeth. From 1917 through 1921 he served with the Emergency Coal Agencies Division of the United States Shipping Board as secretary. In 1921 he went to work for the Consolidation Coal Company in New York and was employed there until 1932.

Mr. Hutchinson had many interests, all of which he pursued with seriousness. His interest in history is the best known but he was also a musician, gardener, and painter. As a musician he played the violin and was for several years connected with the Westfield Symphony Orchestra. He enjoyed not only playing but also the study of long and difficult orchestrations. He spent many hours in his flower garden and was proud of the results of his labors. He liked to paint water colors and produced several in which he took a justifiable pride.

Early in life, we do not know exactly when, he became interested in historical research and started acquiring a collection of books printed by Shepard Kollock, pioneer New Jersey printer of the eighteenth century. His researches had to do largely, although not entirely, with early New Jersey history. The subject on which he probably spent the most time, collecting much information, was that of early New Jersey printers. He had a special interest in the biography of Shepard Kollock, who printed in Chatham, New Brunswick, Elizabethtown, and later in New York. He was also very interested in genealogy, doing a great amount of research on his own family and building up also a file of thousands of cards bearing genealogical information relating to New Jersey families.

He joined the New Jersey Historical Society in 1918 and soon afterwards contributed his first article to the PROCEEDINGS. In December, 1936, Mr. Hutchinson was made a trustee and accepted the appointment as corresponding secretary to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. A. Van Doren Honeyman. His selection as corresponding secretary was a very happy choice in making available to members and others Mr. Hutchinson's diversified knowledge of New Jersey history. He also served, since 1940, as a member of the Editorial Committee and, since 1943, as chairman of the Library Committee. He was always conscientious in his attendance of meetings and zealous in safeguarding the So-

ciety's collections. Mr. Hutchinson was most generous in sharing the knowledge which he had gained by painstaking research with those who were seriously interested. Acknowledgment of his help has been made in several publications.

Considering his assiduous research, Mr. Hutchinson wrote comparatively little for publication, but the articles which he did prepare appeared in the PROCEEDINGS of the New Jersey Historical Society exclusively. The following articles, all well written, interesting, and adding to our knowledge of the state, have appeared in this publication.

"The Old 'Wheat Sheaf' Inn." New Series, volume 5 (1920), pp. 246-48.
"A Forgotten Elizabethtown Newspaper, the 'Essex Patriot.'" New Series, volume 8 (1923), pp. 210-19.
"An Elizabethtown Tavern and Its Ledger." New Series, volume 14 (1929), pp. 443-66; volume 15 (1930), pp. 84-95.
"A Pioneer New Jersey Printer." Volume 55 (1937), pp. 133-48.
"Washington's Welcome at Elizabethtown in 1783." Volume 59 (1941), pp. 261-63.
"The Halsted House at Connecticut Farms and Lafayette's Visit in 1825." Volume 61 (1943), pp. 73-81.
"Union Hall Hotel, Elizabethtown, New Jersey, 1781-1867." Volume 64 (1946), pp. 59-77.
"A Visit to the Town of Freehold in 1847." Volume 65 (1947), pp. 173-86.
"New Jersey's Part in the Conquest of the Atlantic: A Record of the Steamship 'Savannah.'" Volume 67 (1949), pp. 89-95.
"In Memoriam—Russell Bruce Rankin." Volume 67 (1949), pp. 328-29.
"Isaac Brokaw, Jersey Clockmaker." Volume 72 (1954), pp. 157-62.

In addition to the above, he edited and annotated "Marginal Jottings from the Almanacs of the Scudder Family," transcribed by Virginia S. Burnett, which was published in the PROCEEDINGS from July, 1945, to October, 1947.

One of his major projects, on which he spent much time, was the preparing for publication of eight volumes of *Abstracts of Wills* (in the *New Jersey Archives* series), which were published by the state. Mr. Hutchinson edited and annotated from Volume thirty-five (1939) to Volume forty-two (1949), the final volume,

From 1935 to 1943 he was employed by Rutgers University Library, working on its New Jersey collection and developing

its imprint catalogue. From 1943 until his retirement in 1947 he had a responsible position as assistant director of the Polarus Steamship Company in New York.

Mr. Hutchinson never sought publicity or expected any honors for his meticulous research. He was, however, very pleased when in 1950 the American Antiquarian Society honored him with a membership, which he considered as a high compliment to his scholarship. He was also a member of the Second Presbyterian Church of Elizabeth, the Washington Lodge 33, F. & A.M., of Elizabeth, the New-York Historical Society, the Bibliographical Society of America, and the Genealogical Society of New Jersey.

In 1921 he married in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Phyllis Martin, daughter of Rufus and Emily Miller Martin. She had been employed until a short time before their marriage in the rare book room of the New York Public Library under the famous bibliographer, Dr. Wilberforce Eames. Their only child, Martin Tindall Hutchinson, was born in 1923. After a public school education he entered Rutgers University, receiving his A.B. in 1944. He served in the U.S. Navy for two years, then re-entered Rutgers and received his Ph.D in 1949. He is now associate research specialist, Department of Entomology, in the Rutgers University College of Agriculture.

Mr. Hutchinson passed away September 13, 1954, and is survived by Mrs. Hutchinson and their son. Offers have been received for publication of his work on New Jersey printers, which it is hoped can be accomplished. He had nearly completed a series of biographies of Newark printers to the year 1820 which will appear in a forthcoming bibliography of Newark printing.

John Watson of Perth Amboy Artist

THEODORE BOLTON

On October 2, 1954, Mr. Bolton addressed a meeting of the New Jersey Historical Society on the subject of John Watson, early New Jersey artist. The Society now owns fifteen of Watson's plumbago drawings, thirteen of them presented recently by Mrs. Lucien B. Horton. Mr. Bolton, since 1926 librarian of the Century Club in New York City, is a noted writer and art expert.

The Resources of William Dunlap

When William Dunlap wrote his *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States,* published in 1834, the earliest artist about whom he could find a record was John Watson. "Many of the artists who first visited the Colonies," Dunlap wrote, "have left no trace that we can as yet discover." Since his day the traces have been discovered of a number of artists who were active before the arrival of John Watson from Scotland about the year 1714. It was simply because John Watson was the first artist working in the colonies about whom Dunlap was able to find any information, that the biographical essay on John Watson is the first one presented in Dunlap's famous history.

"We, therefore, begin our history of the arts of design," Dunlap wrote, "with the name of the man who chose for his place of residence the native town of the writer." That place was Perth Amboy. There William Dunlap was born in 1766; and there John Watson died in 1768. At the time he wrote his history, Dunlap was living in New York City, according to the city directory for 1833-34, at "64 Avenue 6th," which would be on Sixth Avenue somewhere between Barrow Street and Waverly Place. When he began writing his history, in November 1832, he was sixty-six years old. After an active life as a portrait painter, theater manager, historian, and dramatist, he had resumed his painting; and, although listed in the directory as a "portrait painter," he had also resumed his writing as a second profession.

Some time in July 1833, Dunlap and his wife decided to visit Perth Amboy, to see old friends and to find out something about John Watson. Apparently Dunlap wished especially to interview Andrew Bell, a friend of long standing. In his diary Dunlap records the precise details of the departure from New York, and the events of the first day at Perth Amboy. The entry reads:

"Monday [July] 5th. [1833]. Rain. Clouds. Th[ermometer] 73. Clears & with my wife ride to Wall St. & then walk to Steamboat, embarking at 10 A.M. for Perth Amboy. Fare for 2 [persons], 25 cents." At Perth Amboy the Dunlaps "Put up at Arnold's Hotel kept by the son and widow of Lewis Arnold. Call on our old, sick friend Mrs. Sophia Brown who lingers cheerfully on the brink of the grave with religious patience & hope of another life." This elderly Mrs. Brown was none other than a niece of Alexander Watson, the nephew of John Watson the artist. The Dunlaps then went back to the hotel for dinner. After dinner: "We then go to James Parker and are good naturedly scolded for going to a tavern, engage to dine with them next day & then go to Mr. Bell's where we took them by surprize as at Parkers, stay till evening, then visit Mrs. Brown again and go to Arnolds for the night."

It was a month before Dunlap wrote the next entry. He was then very active in gathering information concerning John Watson. The entry reads:

"Perth Amboy Tuesday Augt. 6th 1833. Up before 5. clouds, Walk to the Hill where I once own[ed] a farm. The hedge of the 3 thorn'd Acacias in part remains grown to trees. Return & go to Mrs. Bells with my Wife to Breakfast . . . Leave my Wife while I visit the church Yard." He must have gone on this walk with his friend Andrew Bell, because he now records that "Mr. Bell relates anecdotes of Mr. [John] Watson the painter & his nephew [Alexander]." There follow some rough notes on the life of the artist soon to be rewritten by Dunlap for his history.

Later on in the day, so Dunlap continues, he and his wife

Then go to James Parker's. Rain commencing and leaving my Wife at Mr Parkers I embark in a furious storm on board [the] steam boat at 3 O Clock, arrive [at New York] a little after 5. Still hard rain. Go throw [through] it to W W Woolsey's & get a great coat & umbrella and leaving

a letter from Mrs Haggerty (whose husband is sick at James Parker's) for Dr John Francis & get home and dried by teatime.

When Dunlap arose the next morning it had stopped raining, and the day was clear. He notes in his diary: "Wed[nesday] August 7th 1833. Clear Th[ermometer] 76 . . . Write on [The] Hist[ory of the] Arts [of Design]." Presumably he now placed in order the notes he had collected on his vacation, and wrote the biographical notice of John Watson for his history. Since the time he wrote, somewhat more information concerning the artist has been found. However, Dunlap's biographical essay is source material and deserves to be reprinted, practically verbatim, without the interruption of interpolations. The additional material will follow the biographical essay.

William Dunlap's Biography of John Watson

The biographical essay appears in the first volume of *The History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States.*

John Watson . . . came to the colonies in 1715, and set up his esel in the capital of New-Jersey, Perth Amboy. This gentleman was a native of Scotland. The precise date of his birth we do not know; the year in which he was born is found by the date of his death engraved on his tombstone, and the age at which he died. He was born in 1685.

The commanding and beautiful point on which the settlers and proprietors of New-Jersey fixed for the sight of their capital, has a fine harbor, sheltered by Staten Island on one side, and the hills of Monmouth on the other, and receiving the waters of the Raritan from the west, and those of the Pesaic and Hackensack through Arthurkill Sound, from the north . . .

Mr. Watson fixed upon this city as a place of his sojourn, purchased land, and built houses. He was a Scotchman, and by profession a portrait painter. He lived long in the land of his choice, and died in extreme old age.

The writer remembers well the child's wonder that was caused in his early life, by the appearance of the house this artist once owned (for he was then dead), and the tales that were told of the *limner* in answer to the questions asked. His dwelling-house had been pulled down by his heir, but a smaller building which adjoined it, and which had been his painting and picture house, remained and attracted admiration by the heads of sages, heroes, and kings. The window-shutters were divided into squares, and each square presented the head of a man or woman, which, if memory can be trusted at this distant period, after an interval of

more than sixty years, represented personages in antique costume, and the men with beards and helmets, or crowns. In answer to the questions elicited by this display of art, the inquirer was told that the painter was considered in the neighborhood, and was handed down traditionally, as a miser and an usurer—words of dire portent—probably meaning that he was a prudent, perhaps a wise man, who lived without ostentation or superfluous expense, and lent the excess of his revenue to those who wanted it, and who could give security for principal and interest, instead of locking it up as a useless idol in his strong box, or risking it on the fluctuating waves of commercial enterprise. 'The story ran' that old Mr. Watson painted many portraits and lent his money to those who employed him, thus procuring employment from those who could secure payment, and, according to English phraseology, patronizing his patrons . . .

Mr. Watson never was married, and having no children he prevailed upon several relatives, notwithstanding that attachment to their soil which distinguishes his countrymen, to leave Scotland, and settle in Perth Amboy, made dear to them by one of its names, and the report of the painter's riches. He had a nephew who was a midshipman in the British navy, but even that comparatively eligable home was abandoned, on promise of inheriting his uncle's wealth. Mr. Alexander Watson, the son of the painter's brother, accordingly became a resident with his uncle, superintended his business when he became too infirm to paint or even to examine bonds and mortgages, and shared his frugal fare with the cheering hope of a blessed change when the old man should "shuffle off this mortal coil."

But "hope deferred maketh the heart sick." The painter became blind, and deaf, and bedrid, but still he lived. In this condition the old man remained several years. The nephew, anticipating the hour in which he was to become lord of money and houses, and lands, used to speak of this as *that* which must soon come "in the course of nature, you know," but in the meanwhile had no power over the revenue. During this period, which is called proverbially the time of "waiting for dead-men's shoes," the house wanted repairing; but the bedrid man turned his deafest ear to any proposal involving the expenditure of money, for that or any other purpose. The hand grasped the world's idol with the greater intenseness as the hour approached on which its hold must be relaxed forever. The nephew, *trusting* to the uncle's incapability of moving or hearing, and finding tradesmen willing to *trust* to the kind course of nature, determined to prevent the decay of the property he felt an heir's affection for, and concluded his bargain with the carpenters for a new roof, to be paid for "in the course of nature, you know." Accordingly, the house was unroofed and re-roofed, while the owner was living in it, perfectly unconscious of the important operation which was in progress over his head. The strokes of hammers, however, occasionally reached his ear, and penetrated through the obstacles interposed by art and nature, and the heir was startled by the question, "What is the meaning of that pecking and knocking that I hear every day?" The nephew taken by surprise, answered,

"pecking!—pecking?—oh, ay!—it's the woodpeckers—they are in amazing quantities this year—leave the trees and attack the roofs of the houses. There is no driving them off." The roof was finished, and the saucy birds ceased pecking.

[Dunlap continues:] After his first visit to America in 1715, the painter had returned to Europe, and had brought from thence to his adopted country, many pictures, which, with those of his own composition, formed no inconsiderable collection in point of number; of their value we are ignorant. It is, however, a curious fact, that the first painter, and the first collection of paintings of which we have any knowledge, were planted at the place of the writer's nativity—Perth Amboy.

We have been told that many of Mr. Watson's pictures were portraits, real and imaginary, of the kings of England and Scotland; and this agrees with the awe-inspiring, inveterate heroes we remember to have seen on his window-shutters. The painter's heir very naturally took part with the loyal adherants of his former master, and fled from the storm which gathered in New Jersey threatening the invader, who came with fire and sword to keep the "king's peace," in 1776. The rebels, a motley mass of half-armed militia, under General Mercer (soon after killed at the battle of Princeton), made a show of opposition to the *regulars* of Britain, who were divided from them by the waters of Arthurkill Sound. Of course the deserted house and the collection of paintings were left at the mercy of undisciplined yoemanry, and this first cabinet of the fine arts was broken up, and the treasures dispersed by those who probably took delight in executing summary justice on the effigies of the Nimrods of the Fatherland.

An excavation, the remains of a cellar, marks the sight of Watson's house, and proves that his taste for the picturesque was not despicable . . . Such in life was the artist's situation—his remains lie in the cemetary of the venerable brick Episcopal church, a little south of his chosen residence . . .

None of the pictures brought into this country or painted by him can now be found; yet that he had and continues to have an influence on the progress of the arts in the United States, will not be doubted by any who have duly considered the subject of cause and effect . . .

In general, Dunlap is correct in his statements. The year of Watson's birth is correct; we now know the month and day. We also have evidence that he came to the colonies at least a year earlier than Dunlap stated. Furthermore, some of Watson's pictures have been discovered since Dunlap wrote about him in his history.

The Investigations of Benson J. Lossing

After Dunlap's biographical essay, and some brief notices by

William A. Whitehead which he included in his history of Perth Amboy, published in 1856, the next important contribution to the study of John Watson was assembled by the historian Benson J. Lossing in his periodical, *The American Historical Record,* for August and October, 1872. In two articles, Lossing presented and annotated material sent him by two correspondents.

Both articles are entitled: "The First Painter in America." In the first, Lossing publishes a letter from a correspondent, who preferred to remain unnamed, enclosing an ink drawing, which Lossing reproduces, of the head and shoulders of a woman showing one arm bearing a small vase emitting little flames of fire. This, the correspondent states, was drawn from a painting by John Watson. After briefly summarizing Dunlap's account of Watson, and remarking on the fact that Dunlap was unable to recall the identity of the heads on the window shutters, the correspondent writes:

> I am glad to be able to supply the blank in Dunlap's memory, in the case of one of the heads on those shutters, a pen and ink sketch of which I send you for publication in the Record if you think it worthy of a place there. It was made by my grandmother when she was a young lady of eighteen years. She was a native of Perth Amboy, and emigrated to Ohio at about the year 1802. In a letter to my mother, dated at Marietta, in December, 1806, in which she enclosed the sketch, she wrote:
>
> "I remember Watson when he was a feeble old man, and had given up painting. His nephew, Alexander, who had come from Scotland on the promise of becoming his heir, then lived with him; also a niece, a maiden lady quite advanced in years, was his housekeeper. I often looked with wonder upon the head of a wrinkle-faced old woman upon one of the shutters of his house in which he had formerly worked. She had her eyes cast toward heaven, in a sort of extasy, and in her hand she held what appeared to be the top of a lighted torch. One day I made a copy of it with a pencil, and, as you say your little boy is fond of pictures, I have copied the pencil sketch, in this letter, with my pen. I think you may consider it a pretty accurate copy of Watson's picture. Who or what it represents, I know not."
>
> I presume it is a priestess bearing a torch—possibly an oracle of Delphos or some other place. You may be able, better than I, to determine the question. I send you the letter to my mother, with the drawing, which has the merit of being a copy of the picture, by the first painter who pursued his vocation in the United States; or rather, within the domain comprised within our Republic.

To this communication, Lossing added the following editorial footnote:

The correspondent of the RECORD (who desires anonymity) is right in supposing the picture to be the head of a priestess or devotee. It was doubtless copied by Watson from Montfaucon's 'Antiquity Explained' (the English translation was published in 1721), in which the whole figure is given, with a description. She is either a priestess of Bacchus or a Maenade Woman consecrated to Bacchus, who, by voluntary enthusiasm, made herself mad. In the full length figure in Montfaucon's work, she is represented as fully draped from the waist, and sitting upon a round base adorned with pilasters. The object mistaken for a torch is a vase, covered with grape and ivy leaves, and emitting a flame from its mouth . . .

Lossing continues: "The writer has a small pencil sketch of a nude athlete, drawn by Watson, which shows remarkable skill in depicting anatomical developments."

The second article, appearing in October 1872, is unsigned but it is undoubtedly by Lossing. He writes, in part:

The only other notice of Watson of which the writer has any knowledge, is in 'Contributions to the Early History of Perth Amboy, and Adjoining Country,' by W. A. Whitehead, published in 1856. The notice, however, contains only a few more incidents than are given by Dunlap, but a likeness is appended taken from a sketch by the artist himself when he was thirty seven years old.

It would seem that either from want of other sitters, or a partiality for his own Physiognomy, he was wont every few years to depict the changes Time had wrought, and try the effect of different attitudes and costume upon himself; and upon the table upon which this notice is written are no less than nine India ink and pencil sketches of large miniature size showing those changes, while his years were increasing from twenty seven to over sixty. They constitute part of a large collection of such pictures with originals and copies in different stages of finish, and of various excellence as to execution. Some show that the pencil has been used with much softness and effect, while others are perfect daubs that would disgrace the humblest tyro. As a general thing the copies are the best executed, leaving the artist's own proficiency both in drawing and coloring open to doubt. There is a verisimilitude, however, about many of the drawings that gives them a value independently of their origin, being likenesses that may interest some of the present day. That consideration leads to the enumeration of some of them here.

But before quoting Lossing's "enumeration" there is something to be said about the little portraits. They have been scattered, and a number of them remain unlocated. Those that have been lo-

cated are generally drawn with plumbago or graphite on vellum or paper. They vary in size from about 5 3/4 by 5 inches, to about 3 1/8 by 2 1/2 inches. On some of them there is a slight Indian ink wash.

The group enumerated by Lossing was apparently lent him by Whitehead, who probably gave Lossing the two of them now owned by Mr. Hall Park McCollough. The ownership has thus been traced: Sophia (Watson) Waterhouse, a niece of John Watson, gave them to her daughter Sophia (Waterhouse) Brown, who gave them to Maria Forbes, who gave them to Elizabeth Forbes Benton, who gave them to Susannah F. F. Benton, from whom some of them went to Roberta Stockton Benton (Mrs. Lucien B. Horton), the donor of thirteen of the little portraits to the New Jersey Historical Society. This leads to a presentation, in alphabetical form, of Lossing's "Enumeration" of portrait drawings by John Watson:

Mrs Armsted
R. A. Bierde "& wife of Virginia"
James Blanie "of Philadelphia"
Mrs Blazer
Mrs Brease
"Governor Wm Burnet and Lady of Massachusetts, New York and New Jersey"
Judge Burnett "of New Jersey"
Mrs Molly Carter "of Virginia"
Mr De Fier "a very fine looking bust in half armor"
Mr Harrison "of Virginia"
Rev Dr Innias "supposed to be Revd Robert Innes of Virginia"
Caleb Jacobet "of Philadelphia"
Sir William Keith and Lady "of Pennsylvania"
Mr Lyone "of Antigua"
Mr and Mrs Lefgrove "of Madiera"
Mr James Morris "AE 17"
"Old Col Lewis Morris Governor of New Jersey"
"Col Lewis Morris, son of the Governor"
Mrs Pereg "of Virginia"
Mr Raie "Collector, Rhode Island"
Arent Schuyler "of New Jersey"
Gasparer Schuyler "1732"
Col. Spottswood "Governor of Virginia"
Dr. Stuart "of New Castle, Del"
Mr Isaac Van Dam
Alexander Watson "the Artist's nephew . . ."
Harrie Young "Assemblyman of New Jersey"

After presenting the "Enumeration" Lossing continues: "There are many other worthies, some of them local celebrities at the place of his (John Watson's) residence. It is evident from this list that Watson had a reputation beyond New York and New Jersey."

Although the artist's reputation went beyond New York and New Jersey, there is no reason to believe that he ever left either of these states. The men and women from Virginia, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Antigua, and Madeira of whom Watson made small portraits were all probably visitors to New York City where Watson lived for a time. Watson's small portrait of Sir William Keith of Pennsylvania was probably made in 1722 when the governor visited New York in that year to confer with Governor Burnet on Indian affairs. That Watson lived for a time in New York City, where he owned property will hereinafter be shown. To continue the examination of Lossing's findings:

> Among the copies are well executed drawings of Earl Cromaitic, Puffendorf, Lord Belcares, John Locke, Henry Sacheverell, D.D., Allan Ramsay, Sir Isaac Newton, Dryden and others, together with nearly a score of Kings of England which may have been the studies for the pictures placed on the panels of his window shutters to which Dunlap and the Record's correspondent refer. The writer has no knowledge of any work in oil executed by him.

Within recent years a number of portraits in oils have been attributed to John Watson. One is of Governor William Burnet, of whom Watson made the pencil portrait donated by Mrs. Horton to the New Jersey Historical Society. Another is of Caius Caesar Caligula.

A Chronology of the Life of John Watson

The next biographer of John Watson was the late John Hill Morgan who compiled an exhaustive account of the artist which appeared in two numbers of the American Antiquarian Society *Proceedings,* for October 1940 and April 1942. Morgan incorporated in his work not only the findings of Dunlap, Whitehead, and Lossing, but also chance references and notices in court records. He supplemented his work with a catalogue of portraits in oil by Watson, listing seven paintings; and a catalogue of pencil portraits by Watson, listing thirty-three, of which twenty-six are located. Morgan also had the advantage of examining two of the artist's notebooks.

In one of these, an account book used by John Watson and later by his nephew Alexander, an entry, obviously by Alexander,

records the artist's death: "Mr. John Watson died Wednesday August 22 1768 Aged 83 years 25 days." From this entry the artist's birth may be computed as falling on July 28, 1685.

Morgan, further, had access to an unpublished manuscript by Benson J. Lossing entitled "First Professional Painter in America," which is owned by Mr. Hall Park McCullough, who likewise owns a letter, dated November 14, 1884, from Lossing to Richard Watson Gilder, editor of the *Century Magazine,* submitting the article for publication. The article apparently was never published. There is very little more in it than had already appeared in the two *American Historical Record* articles. One item of the additional material is the statement, without documentation, that Watson was born near Dumfries, Scotland, and was trained as a house painter before he began painting portraits.

Still another manuscript source examined by Morgan, the handwritten arithmetic, previously mentioned, bears the inscription: "John Watson / With My hand / 1701." Morgan reproduces two pages of the booklet, one simply a set of figures, but the other bearing the sketch of an ostrich. It is not especially well drawn, but it has an historic interest in the life of the artist since it shows his early aptitude for drawing.

The time of Watson's arrival in the colonies has been moved back by at least a year earlier than that given by Dunlap in his diary. Dunlap notes that his friend Mr. Bell told him that: "Watson the painter came to America immediately after the 1715 rebellion as did parson [William] Skinner." This was the Jacobite Rebellion which began on September 16, 1715, and was crushed in December of that year. However, there are court records showing that John Watson brought a law suit against one Thomas Turnbull in the Supreme Court at Perth Amboy for the "May Term, 1715," relating to happenings in 1714.

Although Watson's complaint is not on file, one learns what the legal dispute was about from the two answers, both alike. Morgan quotes from the answer to the Supreme Court action:

"Thomas Turnbull of Perth-Amboy In the sd County Innholder was attached to answer John Watson Late of sd Perth-Amboy Limner of a Plea of Trespass . . ." The plea was that on "the first day of June Last In the thirteenth year of the Reigne of our Late Sovereign Lady Anne Queen," Watson sold a "pipe of Madera," that is 140 gallons of wine, to Turnbull, valued at 24

pounds, and was suing for his payment. Since Queen Anne died August 1, 1714, then "June last" of her reign would be June, 1714.

Morgan states that there are numerous records of real estate transactions in the New Jersey state archives during 1715-60 relating to several John Watsons. One John Watson was a "Limner" and was therefore the artist; but another was a John Watson, mariner, of Monmouth County, who could not have been the artist because the artist lived in Middlesex County. John Watson, Jr., also recorded, could not have been the son of the artist for he left no sons, indeed he did not marry and there is no reference to any child of his born out of wedlock.

An entry in the manuscript arithmetic book is of interest because it reveals John Watson as painting in New York City. The entry begins: "for painting in [New] York 1726." A number of portraits are listed as "Pictor" and one is listed as "Black and Whait," or black and white, which would mean pencil. The "pictors" are of: Mrs. Henderson, the Governor, Doctor Brains, Lewis Morris, and Doctor Dipu, all probably in oil; and none, today, identified.

In 1730, when he was forty-five years old, Watson returned to Scotland on a visit. The authority for this statement is Lossing who records it in the manuscript now in the possession of Hall Park McCullough. Watson returned to Perth Amboy accompanied by his niece and nephew, children of a deceased brother. He also brought with him the collection of pictures "which with studies and copies of paintings by his own hand enabled him to form an attractive art gallery in his home at Perth Amboy." Lossing notes that the pictures covered the walls of two rooms in the studio and gallery which he built to accommodate his collection.

One next hears of Watson fourteen years later. He is mentioned in the diary of a certain Dr. Alexander Hamilton, a young Scots physician and no relation to the famous statesman. Dr. Hamilton, after taking his degree at Edinburgh, had settled in Annapolis during 1739. In the year 1744 he went on a tour from Maryland to Maine in search of his health; and on his trip north he stopped off at Perth Amboy where he caught a glimpse of John Watson. It is true that John Watson is not mentioned by name, but the identity is fairly certain.

In his saddle bag the doctor kept a note book which he called his "Itinerarium," wherein he noted the daily happenings. From this source we learn that early in the morning of May 30, 1744, Dr. Hamilton, handsomely dressed, wearing a laced hat and with a sword at his side, and his Negro manservant Dromo rode on horseback out of the town of Annapolis, northward bound. On June 14 they reached New Brunswick. At 6 o'clock on the following morning they started out for Perth Amboy. Here the doctor recorded in his diary:

> Perth Amboy Friday, June 15 [1744]. At nine in the morning we stop[p]ed at the Sign of the King's Arms in Amboy, where I breakfasted. As I sat in the porch I observed an antik figure pass by, having an old plaid banyan, a pair of thick worsted stockings ungartered, a greasy worsted nightcap, and no hat. "You see that originall," said the Landlord: "He is an old batchellor, and it is his humour to walk in the street always in that dress. Tho' he makes but a pitiful appearance, yet he is proprietor of most of the houses in town. He is very rich, but for all that he has no servant, but milks his own cow, dresses his own vittles, and feeds his own poultry himself."

That Watson was the quaint figure pointed out by the innkeeper to Dr. Hamilton, Morgan infers from the description. The man was an original, a bachelor, a man of property, and very rich; and this precisely fits the description left of him by William Dunlap. The extent of his real estate holdings and of his wealth is documented by records which Morgan presents.

Watson had begun to acquire property at Perth Amboy at least as early as 1726, for in that year he was the grantee of fifty acres of land in Perth Amboy from Charles Dunster. His acquisition of land extended to New York City, for there appears in the *New York Mercury,* January 21, 1765, the following advertisement:

> To be Sold at public Vendue, On Friday the first Day of February next, on the Premisses, three small Tenements, on Lot No. 84 (being part of the Grounds belonging to the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of this City,) situate in John-Street, and Corner of Dutch-Street . . . now in the Possession of Mr. John Watson, Painter, and others; said Lot is subject to 15£ [pounds] Rent per Year for the term of 15 Years.

This shows that John Watson "and others" had bought the property subject to ground rent, and built three small houses

on it, which, when the venture did not turn out to be a profitable investment, were sold by the Church according to the terms of the lease.

There is very little more to present concerning Watson's life. He made his will on September 28, 1756, appointing his nephew Alexander as sole executor. He died twelve years later. The inscription on a large recumbent freestone west of the chantry of St. Peter's Church, Perth Amboy, reads:

Here lies Interred the Body of
Mr. John Watson
Who departed this Life Aug. 22, 1768
Aged 83 years

On August 31, 1768, Gertrude Skinner, the only one of the three witnesses to the will remaining in Perth Amboy, appeared before John Mackay and testified to the validity of the will. On September 1, 1768, Alexander Watson appeared before John Mackay and was "duly Qualified by taking the Oath of an Executor as by Law appointed."

The transcript of the inscription on the gravestone is given in William Northey Jones, *History of St. Peter's Church in Perth Amboy*. The will, and accompanying statements by Gertrude Skinner and Alexander Watson, are presented in full in Morgan's first monograph.

Conclusion

Following the chronology of the artist, it is now in order to speak of his little portraits. They have both an artistic and documentary value. They are examples of the artistry that went into the making of small portraiture during colonial days; and they have a documentary interest. The value of portraits as documents has been so clearly stated by Thomas Carlyle in a letter to David Laing of the Signet Library, Edinburgh, in 1854, at the time of a proposed exhibition of Scottish portraits, that I cannot do better than to quote from this source.

First of all [Carlyle wrote], I have to tell you, as a fact of personal experience, that in all my poor Historical investigations it has been, and always is, one of the most primary wants to procure a bodily likeness of the personage inquired after; a good *Portrait* if such exists; failing that, even an indifferent if sincere one. In short, *any* representation, made by a

faithful human creature, of that Face and Figure, which *he* saw with his eyes, and which I can never see with mine, is now valuable to me and much better than none at all. This, which is my own deep experience, I believe to be, in a deeper or less deep degree, the universal one; and that every student and reader of History who strives earnestly to conceive for himself what manner of Fact and *Man* this or the other vague Historical *Name* can have been, will, as the first and directest indication of all, search eagerly for a Portrait, for all the reasonable Portraits there are; and never rest till he have made out, if possible, what the man's natural face was like. Often I have found a Portrait superior in real instruction to half-a-dozen written "Biographies" as Biographies are written;—or rather, let me say, I have found that the Portrait was as a small lighted *candle* by which the Biographies could for the first time be *read,* and some human interpretation be made of them . . .

Considering the documentary importance of the little pencil portraits by John Watson, two of those presented by Mrs. Horton to the New Jersey Historical Society are records of the likenesses of actual persons. One of them was a man of especial importance: William Burnet, governor of New York and New Jersey, who, appointed in 1720, served until he became, in 1728, the governor of Massachusetts. Those who are interested in history can tell what manner of man he was in his prime by looking at the little portrait. In this wise, portraiture makes history a living matter. As one looks at the confident cheerful face of the governor, one can guess why it was that he was able to enter Trinity College, Cambridge, at the age of thirteen. It is true that he was expelled from college, but that was simply because he neglected his studies. He certainly resembles a man who was able to rise to eminence. Then there is another little pencil portrait among those presented by Mrs. Horton of an unknown citizen, presumably of Perth Amboy, named James Morris. Still another little portrait owned by the Society, but not belonging to the group presented by Mrs. Horton, is of William Eier, mayor of Perth Amboy. There is also a pencil and wash portrait by Watson, owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, of Governor William Keith, the man who befriended Benjamin Franklin, and urged him to establish a printing office in Philadelphia.

There are, at the present time, twenty-six known pencil portraits by Watson, and of these, fifteen are owned by the New Jersey Historical Society. In other words, the New Jersey Historical Society now owns more than half of the known pencil por-

traits of John Watson because of the generosity of Mrs. Lucien B. Horton.

List of Portrait Drawings by John Watson Owned by the New Jersey Historical Society

Portraits numbered 1 to 13 inclusive were presented to the Society by Mrs. Lucien B. Horton.*

1. William Burnet (D, 1)
2. James Morris (D, 9)
3. Queen Anne (D, 15)
4. Homer (D, 17)
5. Louis XIII (D, 18)
6. Louis XIV (D, 19)
7. An Old Man (D, 20)
8. A Scotsman (D, 21)
9. A Young Man (D, 22)
10. De St. Evremont (D, 23)
11. Duchess of Somerset (D, 24)
12. King Stephen (D, 25)
13. King William (D, 26)
14. Mrs. Lewis Morris Ashfield (D, 27). Presented, prior to October 1915, by Mrs. Richard Van Wyck Fairchild.
15. William Eier (D, 28). The first mayor of Amboy, N. J. Presented by John Hill Morgan, 1942.

REFERENCES

Dunlap, William, *Diary of William Dunlap, 1766-1839*. New York, 1930. 3 vols. Vol. 3, p. 726.

Dunlap, William, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*. New York, 1834. 2 vols. Vol. 1, pp. 18-20.

Hamilton, Alexander, *Gentleman's Progress, the Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton, 1744*, edited by Carl Bridenbaugh. Chapel Hill, N.C., 1948. Page 38.

Hastings, Mrs. Russel, "A John Watson Discovery," *Antiques*, XCVI (July 1939), pp. 26-27. 1 plate.

Jones, William Northey, *History of St. Peter's Church in Perth Amboy*. New York, 1924. Page 496.

Lossing, Benson J., editor, "The First Painter in America," *American Historical Record*, I (August 1872), No. 8, pp. 337-38.

Lossing, Benson J., editor, "The First Painter in America," *American Historical Record*, I (October 1872), No. 9, pp. 456-66. 1 line cut.

Morgan, John Hill, "Further Notes on John Watson," *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, April 1942 (Worcester, 1943), 12 p. 8 plates.

Morgan, John Hill, "John Watson, Painter, Merchant and Capitalist of New Jersey, 1685-1768," *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, October 1940 (Worcester, 1941), 101 p. 12 plates.

Whitehead, William A., *Contributions to the Early History of Perth Amboy and Adjoining Country*. New York, 1856. 3 plates.

Waska, Frank E., "John Watson, First Professional Painter in America," *Brush and Pencil*, II (1898), pp. 54-56.

*The numbers in parentheses are those given in Morgan's catalogue.

Hunterdon County in the First World War

HUBERT G. SCHMIDT

The concluding part of Dr. Schmidt's article deals with the social effects of World War I in Hunterdon County. Two earlier sections of the article have described prewar conditions, wartime activities in the county, and economic effects of the war.

Social Implications

Hunterdon County society has been pictured as a rather settled one, provincial in outlook, conservative in attitude, and somewhat slow in accepting new ideas and adopting innovations. Almost without warning, this static community found itself a part of a nation in arms, bombarded by the social forces which accompany modern warfare. For nineteen months, the people of the county attempted to do their part in saving the world, and that period of abnormality affected to a greater or lesser degree every part of the social fabric. Part of the social upheaval has necessarily been shown in earlier sections of this article in describing wartime activities, in showing how existing and newly-formed organizations bent their energies toward the one end of winning the war, and in displaying the loyal way in which contributions and services were freely given for war causes. It seems well, however, to give special attention to some of the accompanying attributes of all this activity.

There was, of course, a great deal of vigorous flag-waving just prior to and immediately after the declaration of war. When news arrived of Congressional action, the mayor of Flemington gave rather superfluous orders that the American flag should be displayed. A description of the town at that moment reads in part, "Old Glory is seen waving from nearly every home and business place, wagons and automobiles are decorated with them, and many are wearing a small flag on buttons on their coats. The red, white, and blue stands for the best there is in the world." June 13, designated Flag Day, received full recognition in French-

town. At a "patriotic sociable" at Whitehouse on Memorial Day, there was a flag drill followed by presentation of a new flag to the church. There were manifestations of veneration for the flag at every turn, and much was said and written to the effect "Here's to Old Glory, God Bless Her!" Without doubt, the outward signs accompanied a deep inner surge of patriotism. Other expressions were of a quieter nature, as in the case of the unanimous pledge of the county Pomona Grange to support the government in the war. It was felt that we were at war to put down a cruel, treaty-breaking, autocratic military caste, but it was also felt that insults to our flag were a direct cause of our entrance into the conflict.

Flag-waving did not stop with that of the American flag. French and British flags were everywhere, symbols of our "great, democratic Allies," who were thought to be fighting so unselfishly for idealistic causes. A French veteran of the Franco-Prussian War proudly shouldered his old musket and joined the G.A.R. Memorial Day parade in Bloomsbury, and unfortunately dropped dead as a result of his exertions. A little later, the Italian flag came in for its share of attention, much to the joy of the Italian-American group at Lambertville, who gained stature in the eyes of their neighbors at this juncture. In the July 4 celebration of 1918, the Victor Emmanuel Society was given a prominent place in the parade and was asked to put on a special exhibit of Italian folk dancing.

The popular appeal of banner displays led to the creation of special flags to reward individuals and groups for war services. Those given in connection with sales of Liberty Bonds have already received mention. Service flags with a star for each person in the armed forces were displayed by homes, churches, schools, and business firms. The High Bridge Steel Works flag of June, 1918, had seventy stars. The same passion for symbols was also shown by the use of badges, cards, and other awards. Examples were the Food Conservation and Red Cross cards and stickers, the "Ready for Service" pins of men registered for the draft, and the medals given for patriotic service in selling government bonds.

Coupled with this tendency for patriotic display, there was at first an element of war hysteria and fear common to much of the

nation. Many people half feared that they would hear German cannon at any moment or, at least, German zeppelins would appear overhead. Each community organized a Home Guard, and for a time sentries were posted to guard the bridges of the main line railroads night and day. The *Democrat-Advertiser* warned, "It is very important not to attempt to cross a bridge when ordered to halt by the guards, as their instructions are to shoot to kill. A man who was deaf had a narrow escape recently." The *Democrat* said, "Have a care. These are war times." The mayor of Flemington proclaimed, "I hereby enjoin all citizens to refrain from any word or action which might be construed as a disloyal act." The *Republican* quoted with approval from the *Chicago Tribune,* "If we were alone at war with Germany, at least our Eastern coast and Eastern cities would be occupied by Germans now." The Whitehouse *Weekly Review* reported that "sober men with sober minds and good eyes" had discovered what looked like the antenna of an enemy wireless outfit on the summit of Pickel's Mountain. It is a relief to hear of an occasional person who had not lost his sense of humor, like the joker who reported that there was dynamite in the village library or the editor at Clinton who stated that if a nearby bridge were destroyed there would be time to rebuild it before the next train.

This war hysteria was occasionally vented on an individual. Because of a remark made in a barroom in Frenchtown, one man was arrested and unsuccessfully prosecuted in a U. S. District Court for threatening the life of President Wilson. A tramp who carelessly burned some oats stacks near Readington was arrested for sabotage when it was found that he was a citizen of Austro-Hungary. Although actually a Slav, and probably guiltless of evil intent, he was sent to the penitentiary for four years. An Austrian steel worker who refused to buy a Liberty Bond and said, "If me do anything, me fight for Germany," was nearly mobbed before police appeared to rush him off to jail at Flemington. Max Schrabisch, an archaeologist in state employment, who had spent some weeks studying Indian remains in Hunterdon and Warren counties in 1915, was given a rough treatment by the press for a time. Though his work was well known in the county, and despite the fact that he was known personally to

both editors, the Whitehouse *Weekly Review* came out with a pointed attack, which was reprinted in the *Democrat*. The occasion was a false rumor that Professor Schrabisch, born in Germany, had been arrested as a spy. The article built up a story about his great intelligence, his "german boastfulness" (the editor refused to capitalize the word "German"), and his ability and opportunities to map New Jersey for German occupation. Fortunately, Schrabisch was able to squelch the story properly by a letter to the *Clinton Democrat*.

Hunterdon County was, of course, subjected to the same constant stream of propaganda as the rest of the nation, which, in the main, met with a receptive response. One of the most effective media was that of speeches, and anyone who could talk authoritatively about the war was welcomed by appreciative audiences. Hundreds of such speeches were made within the county, and most of them received mention in the local press. The following examples are typical. In April and May, 1917, W. K. Cooper, national secretary of the Y.M.C.A., spoke in Flemington and Lambertville on the subject, "The Testing of America." In Flemington, he spoke in a church decorated with American and Allied flags. In December, the Red Cross brought in an army officer, Captain Arthur Rudd, to tell of his war experiences. The *Democrat* reported, "No man who has heard him will forget his description of the kind of war the Prussians wage, or the self-forgetful heroism of the people in France, in Belgium, and in Russia whom he has met." A little later, a local boy who had driven an ambulance in France told how "his ambulance was always a target for German fire" and spoke of "the dreadful havoc of the gases." As mentioned before, the Liberty Loan and other drives were accompanied by many speeches, which of course stressed repeatedly the need for sacrifice and the hatefulness of the Huns.

The work of the county papers in connection with various war activities has already received notice. As the war continued, hatred of the enemy was stressed more and more in their columns. On November 28, 1917, two of the Flemington papers printed an article entitled "Satan Abdicates." It was well received locally, although it is doubtful that the Kaiser ever read it, as the *Democrat* suggested. At another time, the local columnist for the

Democrat concocted a fine story burlesquing a German aviator who received an Iron Cross for effective bombing and machine gunning of a French hospital. Articles in the exchange columns were never chosen for their mildness or love of the enemy. The *Democrat,* borrowing an article from *Everybody's Magazine,* headed it as follows: "French priest faces the Hun firing squad. Brand Whitlock tells of German savagery in dealing with a Red Cross worker." It became the custom to blame the Kaiser for everything, even for the fact that the passenger trains were crowded.

The stream of invective became most bitter at the time of the various war drives within the county. An advertisement for the Fourth Liberty Loan stated, "The Princes of Germany are shaking Dice for the United States. If we do not win decisively, everything you possess is lost, and with it the American soul." Another pictured a knife and a belt taken from an interned German sailor. The picture of the knife, which was saw-edged, was labeled, "A knife fit only for Germans," and the belt buckle, with its legend of *Gott mit uns,* was considered as evidence of German fanaticism. The general idea was to buy bonds and thus defeat "savagery and heathenism." Cartoons helped to drive home such messages in pithy form. In one, Happy Hooligan told the kids, "I'm going to work to oin money to buy each or youse a Liberty Bond. We're out to make the world safe for democracy!" On the other hand, the Allies were portrayed as creatures of sweetness and light. An unintended slam at American womanhood was contained in one of the stories which was printed. A hospitalized French soldier, on receiving a Comfort Kit from America, asked the nurse, "Madam, do you think she is pretty, the one who sent the bag?" After further thought, he said, "Never mind, she is surely good."

A type of propaganda, not really meant as such, was that used in reporting the deaths of soldiers. The special memorial services held in each case stressed not only sorrow for the dead but hatred for the enemy. One obituary notice, printed in the *Democrat-Advertiser,* read in part, "The lights have gone out in the farmhouse among the hills, and another of Hunterdon's sons is sacri-

ficed because of German kultur." Another notice stated, "The mate appeal of the fair young life, which calls out for vengeance on the 'kultured' Germans, will do more to induce men to buy Liberty Bonds than all the eloquence of foreign speakers."

British war films, which played up the gospel of hate very effectively, have already been noted. By the summer of 1918, films sponsored by the U. S. government were also available to the movie theaters. And, of course, war fiction gave Hollywood wonderful subject material. One of the first and best-known of the film capital's war pictures was "The Fall of a Nation" which played to capacity audiences everywhere. The ballyhoo which preceded its showing at Flemington made the following statement, which is anything but notable for literary style:

> Made in and around the United States, typifying the fall of the city of Washington where the foreign forces hold wild revel in the house of state, reaching for its scenery to the boundless plains, where in secret drilling the daughters of the nation lead the cowboys to rise to their country's welfare, through the mountain valleys, where the country is pouring with shot and shell and the dread forty centimeter guns belch forth their ruin and themselves are swallowed in a rain of fire from the opposing lines. This is pictured in startling and thrilling sensation that fires the blood for deeds of valor. There is pathos relieved by comedy, even as the sun breaks through the clouds on a misty morning. There is tragedy and dramatic force, and beyond all, a story that will do more good for this country at this time than all the patriotic lectures rolled into one.

Another propaganda device already mentioned was that of showing "war relics." All war materials captured from the Germans received this rather odd designation. The exhibits included everything from Iron Crosses to cannon. The most complete exhibit was that of the special train used in the Fourth Liberty Loan drive. But store show windows bloomed forth with exhibits of such booty whenever it was desirable to whip up public opinion or to encourage donations. Sometimes Allied materials were also included. A Clinton exhibit near the end of the war included four French rifles, four bayonets, a German ammunition box, a saber, a German shell, a dog collar message case, a gas bomb, and a fragment of a shell.

Advertisers and others with axes to grind naturally attempted to use war emotions to their own advantage wherever possible.

In the *Democrat,* a *Popular Mechanics* advertisement had a picture of a tank and the phrase, "At the Front." A *Review of Reviews* ad in the *Democrat-Advertiser* offered as a subscription premium six volumes of war stories. A local lumber company urged readers to keep their machinery up to "war efficiency." A patent medicine advertisement reported that after using Tanlac a munitions worker found it "easier for him to make pills for the Kaiser." Another, advertising the "Golden Medical Discovery," said, "While at war, women suffer at home."

A good method of attack against anything was to link it with the enemy in some way or to state that it slowed the progress of the war. The *Democrat* labeled as "half-Prussian" the following: wealthy students "dressing up" at commencement time; a minister "walking up and down our streets with cane and gloves" when the weather was not cold; and "rich limousine owners" inviting only their own "caste" to go riding. (The editor did not own a car.) At another time, "simplicity, modesty, and democracy" were linked together as "admirable" qualities. A W.C.T.U. speaker had as his subject, "Will a sober nation not win a war more quickly than a drinking nation?" A long-winded representative of the National Purity Association spoke on the subject, "The Two Wars," defining the second as that against "Mormon polygamous practices" during a period when there were more women than men as a result of war losses. He soberly told a large audience that Germany was already encouraging polygamy "so that more boys could be raised for the war machine."

But the prize story illustrating the use of wartime opportunities for personal advantage was that of the exploits of "Baron Ferdinand van der Noot," who made at least one well-paid pilgrimage to Hunterdon County during his period of employment by the Red Cross. Reputedly a Belgian nobleman who had been in the trenches with musket and sword at the age of twelve, and highly recommended by the Belgian consul at Newark, the Baron became a professional stumper for the Red Cross, one of his specialties being German atrocity stories. For one of his "stirring appeals" in Hunterdon County, he was paid fifty dollars and expenses. After the speech, according to the account, "he said that he would be grateful for voluntary contributions for the

Belgian hospital in which his sister, a Belgian noblewoman was working." He thereupon collected $72 for this charity. The Baron got away with his racket for some little time, even after he was accused of lifting a half-eagle gold piece from a collection box in Easton, Pennsylvania. But eventually he and two confederates were arrested in New York for the impersonation of American officers, and that put an end to his work. The editor of the *Democrat,* without a trace of humor, pointed out that the employment of the Baron had not been in vain, however, inasmuch as his speeches had brought in large sums for the Red Cross.

The propaganda of hate ultimately affected the whole population. A popular game at a Sunday School picnic was that of "Hitting the Kaiser." A high school boy asked the *Democrat* to stop using a certain punctuation mark peculiar to that paper on the grounds that it bore a resemblance to an Iron Cross. The editor, in some confusion, agreed that this was true, and immediately desisted. A conversation between a boy of six and a girl of eight in Flemington was recorded by a bystander as follows:

Boy: "My father is going to fight."

Girl: "Is your father married to your mother?"

Boy: "Of course."

Girl: "Then he will not have to fight."

Boy (proudly): "My father says he is going to fight and lick them all."

The naturalization of enemy aliens was, of course, forbidden. With the requirements that they must register, submit photographs, and be fingerprinted came a more personal feeling. The hatred of all things German soon extended to names and words of German origin or in any way related to Germany. The national drive to change the name of sauerkraut to "liberty cabbage" received local sanction along with the effort to avoid such terms as "wiener," "hamburger," and "wurst." Local name-changes were soon in the offing, but the Anglicizing of most German names during the previous century-and-a-half did not give many opportunities in Hunterdon County. The High Bridge Imperial Band changed its name to High Bridge Liberty Band, and there may have been some other developments of similar nature.

However, local interest soon centered on the name of New

Germantown, and increasingly so after German Valley, across the line in Morris County, became Long Valley. The *Republican* said that the village had an "unfortunate name," and the *Democrat* said that the name had a "bad smell." The citizens of the village, feeling very much ashamed, began to look for another name. Some felt that a revival of the name of Smithfield, the name before 1753, would be a logical one, while others agitated for Barnet, Barnetsville, or Barnetsdale, in honor of a prominent early physician of the village. A few suggested the name Newtown, and someone else more logically brought up the name of Oldwick. A public meeting, followed by a plebiscite, led to adoption of the name of Oldwick, which was promptly accepted by the Post Office Department. In the plebiscite, only one person voted to retain the old name, and he was promptly labeled as pro-German. A more serious matter was the successful fight against the teaching of the German language in the high schools. Persons who knew the German language took pains not to advertise the fact.

Our entrance as a participant brought an upsurge of interest in war developments. Many people became subscribers of metropolitan newspapers, and the local press brought in occasional columns of war news. For instance, the *Democrat* on August 14, 1918, reprinted a column by Heywood Broun, then with the New York *Tribune,* entitled "Allies Achieve Three Big Aims." News bulletins concerning the more spectacular developments were posted on bulletin boards in the post offices. Speeches by army men, often by Britishers or Canadians, who purported to bring first-hand information on campaigns and fighting methods, drew large audiences. In one way or another, most people had an opportunity to gain something of an idea concerning the course of the war, and particularly that on the Western Front.

There was, however, an even keener interest in news concerning local persons and their relationship to the war. When a young man enlisted in the Army or Navy, or when a girl became a Red Cross nurse, everyone was interested. One nurse, on her way to France, wrote a series of letters which were printed in the *Democrat.* Soldier letters gave the home folks a touch of the real thing, and were gladly printed by the county papers. A

Whitehouse boy wrote, "Well, we had them on the run for fair, and I guess they are running yet. I am sending you a shoulder strap off of a dead German's coat." Another soldier wrote, "I sit in a gun pit on a coil of wire, writing on a book and with my gas mask in the alert position." A third announced succinctly, "Hereafter, I will run on one leg instead of two. The Kaiser can't kill a good man."

Others described in detail the strange land of France. One spoke of it as "wonderfully beautiful, quaint, curious, old, majestic." Another, writing to his home-town lodge in Three Bridges, said, "France is a great place. The houses are all of stone and the streets narrow, and the sidewalks are very few and narrow. They have some very fine horses, a lot nicer than ours, but their wagons are mostly two wheeled carts and very heavy. The women do a lot of work, and the whole race seems very slow." A doughboy from Little York wrote to his mother, "The farms are very small here. The women work in the fields like men. They drive most all two wheeled carts. They look very funny to me." After the Armistice, one soldier voiced a common complaint, "The French are making lots of money off of the Americans, for they want big profits. When I first came to France, the women wore wooden shoes, but now they wear high-top ones. Eggs when I first came were four cents, now they are fourteen, beer was ten cents a bottle, now twenty-six."

The *Democrat-Advertiser* ran a weekly column, "War Notes," which was concerned with news from Hunterdon boys in the services, and other papers gave much space to soldier letters, particularly after the Armistice, when everyone was anticipating demobilization. All of this interest probably had a tendency to widen the viewpoint of the average citizen. Red Cross notes concerning new and strange parts of the world probably had a like effect. A Red Cross appeal in December, 1918, read, "Most of Europe is looking to America as their only source of relief. How else can Servia, Armenia, Poland, gain the strength to establish their hard-won independence?"

A first reaction to our entrance into the war was approval of all things military. In fact, it looked for the moment as if everyone should be prepared to be part of a nation in arms. A pam-

phlet was distributed, at a nickel each, bearing the title, "Prepared When Our Country Calls." The *Democrat* recommended it as having the military information which everyone wanted. As narrated elsewhere, each community organized its unit of Home Guards, and soon men trying to look military in their five-dollar uniforms were to be seen everywhere. A short-lived attempt was made to keep ten of them on the streets of Flemington at all times in order "to afford full police protection." In the high schools, the boys formed military drill corps and read up on military tactics. There was much discussion of the possible adoption of universal military training. However, enthusiasm for things military on the local level soon cooled. Home Guards became disgusted when no serious work could be found for them. Some of the units took up football, and a game between the Flemington and Lambertville units led to a thumping victory for the former. As mentioned elsewhere, the Home Guard idea died a natural death, except that a portion of the Flemington unit became a part of the state's "reserve militia" and eventually of the National Guard.

This cooling of martial enthusiasm was not peculiar to Hunterdon County, but some local developments speeded the process there. A National Guard company which was awaiting space in an Army camp was kept at the Flemington fairgrounds from May to August, 1917. At first there was a great deal of enthusiasm for "the soldiers." There were military parades through Flemington, and on Sunday afternoons citizens in droves went out to the fairgrounds to see at first hand how these protectors of the nation lived. The children, in particular, were entranced, and one small boy, for whom a frantic search had been made, was found at mess with the soldiers. The local editor of the *Democrat* wrote, "There is something about a soldier that makes a small boy love him," and expressed his hopes that the guardsmen would not use profanity or strong drink in front of their worshippers.

But soon it was evident that all was not well. Early in July, a young man from Pittstown, standing in front of the Union Hotel in Flemington, expressed his disapproval that a girl of fifteen was being squired by one of the guardsmen. That brave individual left and soon returned with a group of his comrades. In the

fight which followed, one of the soldiers, supposedly on police duty, shot and seriously wounded the boy. He was arrested and thrown into the local jail, but was later taken over by the military authorities, given a trial, and acquitted. The *Democrat* wrote, "The soldiers at the Fairgrounds are having too much liberty in Flemington, and the parents of young girls are too careless." The burglary of the Flemington Junction railway station by one of the guardsmen made matters worse. At about the same time, three members of another unit stationed at High Bridge stole a horse and carriage and took a joy ride. A justice of the peace sentenced them to sixty days in jail, but had to surrender them to military authorities. All this caused criticism of these non-native groups, but had no adverse effect on the attitude toward Hunterdon's own or on the desire to push the war to a successful conclusion.

The effect of the war on the activities of social organizations was most marked. At first, there was an effort to form social groups on a purely patriotic basis. The most important new group was that of the Sons and Daughters of Liberty. Units were organized at Flemington, Clinton, High Bridge, and possibly elsewhere in the county. Membership drives and "sock socials" were features of the short existence of these groups. Many of the war service groups already discussed had a social side, also, although it was not emphasized.

But most of the new social activity was within the framework of older organizations. The churches held community rallies, sometimes called "patriotic sociables," usually featuring a flag drill among other activities. At one such meeting in Ringoes in March, 1918, a Canadian officer spoke and a soldier quartette sang. At a "liberty sing" at the Sandy Ridge Church, a feature was the showing of stereoptican slides of the U. S. Navy. The "community sings" at Frenchtown, with their emphasis on patriotic songs, drew large crowds. The emphasis on patriotic music is shown by the program of the Flemington Band on one occasion. The numbers, in the order of their rendering, were as follows: "Long Live Our U.S.A."; "Good Old Pals"; "What Do You Want to Make those Eyes at Me For?"; "America Needs You Like a Mother"; "The Kiddies"; "Poet and Peasant"; "When

the Sun Goes Down in Dixie and the Moon Begins to Shine"; "Kaiki Bill"; "Let's All Be Americans Now"; "Bohemian Girl"; "Where Do We Go from Here"; "Gee Whiz"; "If I had a Son for Each Star in Old Glory, Uncle Sam, I'd Give Them All to You"; "You're a Grand Old Flag"; "The Cavalry Wiggle"; and "The Star Spangled Banner." The fourth selection from the last might well have been in consolation for the Lambertville couple who sent five sons to the Army during the early days of the war. Some listeners may have thought that "Bohemian Girl" was slightly subversive.

Other activities chosen at random will show how existing social forms were changed as a result of the war. In 1918, Lambertville celebrated its Fourth of July in honor of "Americanism, thrift, and conservatism." According to a century-old custom, the village combined with that of New Hope, Pennsylvania, across the Delaware, for the usual enthusiastic parade and pageantry, but this time without fireworks. As mentioned previously, Italian-American participation was given greater importance than usual. Memorial Day, 1918, received unusual attention at Larison's Corner, where the church bell each day at noon during the previous week had spelled out the word "victory." An old device was used in many communities for fund-raising purposes. It was the so-called "sock social." At an Everittstown meeting, for instance, little silk socks were passed out to all present, each to be returned with as many pennies as the length of the donor's two feet in inches. This feature of the program alone brought in over forty dollars for the Red Cross, the money representing more than four thousand inches of feet. At Stanton in August, 1918, a variation of the usual generous community meal was a "Red, White and Blue Supper," the proceeds, at fifty cents per plate, going to the Red Cross. A decidedly new form of the old-fashioned husking bee occurred at Little York, where a community group husked and hauled three hundred shocks of corn in order to hold a prominent farmer to his promise of giving the Red Cross one hundred dollars.

In Flemington, special celebrations were held each time a contingent of county draftees left for camp. The first such event was planned as a small affair, but it drew a large crowd. A large

contingent from the upper end of the county was accompanied by the High Bridge band. The hundred or so draftees found the town thrown open to them, with free movies, free food, a free organ recital, special treatment at the library, G.A.R. Hall, etc., and special programs by the Red Cross, the Y.M.C.A., and the Women's Relief Corps. The sheriff himself was on hand to supervise tours of the county buildings. The *Democrat* had a handbill which said, "Welcome, Soldiers of Freedom . . . Keep yourselves clean and pure and true." The final touch was the weeping farewell of mothers and sweethearts at the station as the train pulled out. This send-off set the pattern for those of later contingents.

Flemington also held a special celebration at the time of the September, 1918, draft registration. The local militia, the Fire Department, the band, and citizens of all ages held a parade. The schools appeared, with special groups representing the Land Army, the Peach Stone Savers, the Boy Scouts, and the Stenographers for Uncle Sam. The crowds sang "America," "Onward Christian Soldiers," "Over There," "Keep the Home Fires Burning," "There's a Long, Long Trail," and "The Star Spangled Banner." The registrants were very much in evidence with their "Ready to Serve" badges. Other places had similar celebrations to commemorate the extension of the draft. It is little wonder that a group of early volunteers sent back from camp a little poem, the theme of which is expressed in two lines:

> Why didn't I wait to be drafted,
> And led to the train by a band.

With the great stress on harmonious effort and group activity, it is not surprising that social pressure and even intolerance were employed to get results. The "big drives" emphasized such ideas as "Do your bit," "These men must have our best," and "Put the pay into patriotism," and were accompanied by considerable emotionalism. A cartoon of a boy shouting, "Oh, Skin-nay! My Pa he bought me a Liberty Bond. Did Joors?" illustrates the point. It was natural, therefore, that few people cared to be put into the position of "slackers." Men exempted from the draft protected themselves by wearing red, white, and blue badges

which read, "Exempted, U.S." Lambertville, the *Democrat* thought, must feel shame that it had only one hundred men in its Home Guard, while Flemington had more than three hundred. It was a time when criticism was easily drawn. A letter to the editor of the *Democrat* condemned church suppers as being contrary to the spirit of conservation. The commanding officer of Flemington's Home Guard attacked the villagers as slackers because more of them did not offer to drive the men out to their drill ground. The storekeeper who refused to donate crates for a Belgian Relief shipment received an editorial dressing-down. Rationing was "voluntary," but as the *Democrat* put it, "There is no excuse for a house not having a Food Conservation card hanging in a window." During the nine weeks preceding January, 5, 1918, the seventy-three families of St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church at Flemington who had "pledge cards," turned in reports of 1998 wheatless meals, 3519 meatless meals, and 5815 "waterless" meals. Except for social pressure, it seems possible that at least one family might have done less well. The *Democrat* gave a classic example of intolerance in definition form: "The only difference between a slacker and a conscientious objector is that the slacker has sense enough not to talk."

The effect of the war on organized religion is not easy to assess. Ordinary church services were not affected, except as interest was diverted by other activities. Evangelical campaigns were planned each year as in the past. An item announcing a revival at Larison's Corner went on to say, "Services will be held in other of the churches of Amwell Valley, the aim being to reach every church in the Presbytery, leading up to Trenton's great campaign." But the enthusiasm of former years seems somehow lacking, or at least the attention paid by the press was less. It must be remembered that Billy Sunday and other evangelists were now concentrating on the armed forces. On the other hand, there were many examples of the partnership between religion and patriotism. The six preachers of Flemington endorsed with words of highest praise the buying of War Savings Stamps. The Hunterdon County Bible Society spent most of its efforts in giving Bibles to soldiers, and the churches and Sunday Schools assisted in this work. It would be interesting to see some of the sermons

of the period. It is significant that a Methodist bishop admonished the clergy under his jurisdiction as follows: "Preach salvation. The people know as much about the war as you do."

The effect of the war on the schools was, of course, very marked. Boys joining the Junior Industrial Army in effect received grades for Latin and geometry according to how willingly they pitched hay and milked cows. So many boys left school each spring as to play havoc with athletics, and particularly with the baseball program. The Board of Education of Flemington voted to award diplomas of graduation to two high school seniors who volunteered for Army service before the end of the school year, and other boards in all probability did likewise. Without doubt, the effort to be patriotic resulted in a temporary lowering of school standards. Furthermore, much time and energy of the schools were given to Red Cross, Thrift Stamp, and other drives. At a rousing Rural School Council meeting at Flemington in January, 1918, Red Cross work was endorsed as being valuable from the viewpoint of education. At any rate, the authorities felt perfectly free to call on the schools at any time for special services. The use of high school students in taking an agricultural census of the county has already been mentioned. In April, 1918, the high schools of Clinton, High Bridge, and Hampton were enlisted for the task of testing seed corn. Such activities, without doubt, led to a curtailment of regular school work.

On the other hand, the war did supply endless subjects for themes and problems. In 1917, the Flemington High School students competed for a prize by writing on the subject, "What Constitutes a Good American Citizen?" The list of subjects for the following year included "Why Every American Should Own a Liberty Bond," and "How I Can Save Money to Buy Thrift Stamps." The winning essay stated that except for the British Navy "the plains of Jersey would have been indistinguishable from the shell torn plains of Flanders, and our homes would have been ruined, our towns burned, and our friends enslaved." Evidently both the student and the judges had accepted propaganda at face value. At the same time, students in the grade school were competing on the essay subject, "Why We Are at

War with Germany." Such contests were, of course, a mark of the times. A Clinton High School girl took a prize offered by the *Philadelphia Record* for the best letter to a soldier.

Several changes in the curriculum were caused or helped by the war. The martial spirit of the times probably played a part in the passage of the New Jersey law in 1917 which required two and one-half hours per week of physical training in the high schools. Wartime "practicality" made easier the struggle to provide for courses in agriculture and domestic science. On the other hand, intolerance drove the study of the German language from the schools. The editor of the *Democrat* did not think that growing minds should be "poisoned with Kultur" and called the teaching of German "narrow-minded, short visioned." Press and public soon joined in the hue and cry. In most high schools, the subject was killed by official decree, but in others by the fact that no students enrolled for it. The study of French became understandably popular, being brought to many schools for the first time in 1918.

What the war did for reading habits in the county can be ascertained only in part. Serials chosen by the county papers were more and more often on war subjects. A typical example was the story, "Over the Top—By an American Soldier Who Went," which ran periodically in the *Democrat-Advertiser*. Its usual illustration was a representation of a helmetless soldier, running low with fixed bayonet, and yelling hatred. The *Republican* began two stories in the same issue. One, entitled "Outwitting the Hun," was about the escape of an American soldier from a prison camp. The other, hardly a story but probably just as fictional, was called "The Confessions of a German Deserter." The *Democrat,* tied up by contracts, stuck to blood and thunder stories of the West and North during the early months after the declaration of war, but eventually joined the parade. A few serious books about the war, including Gerard's *My Four Years in Germany* in the seventy-five-cent edition, received either brief notice or were advertised in the local papers. The story by Gerard, "the man who dared to defy the Kaiser," came to many persons by way of Hollywood. According to a news story, the movie

which was based on the book played to record crowds when shown at Lambertville.

Though the war caused the whiskey bottle to take cover, it popularized the cigarette. Before the war, the opinion held by the editor of the *Democrat* that smoking cigarettes was a sign of foppishness in men, of sin in women, and of dereliction in boys was not unusual. But soldier letters pleaded for tobacco, and the *Democrat* rushed into a campaign to supply it—in cigarette form. Soon it became a sign of Allied solidarity to send "smokes" to French, Belgian, and British soldiers. The tobacco companies were far from shy in this situation. Soon such slogans as "It's Toasted" and "They Satisfy—and Yet They're Mild" were being plastered on signboards and on the pages of the local papers. A regular columnist for the *Democrat* aptly remarked, "In our desire to have the soldier boys get all the luxuries and comforts possible, we fear the cigarette is gaining a popularity it should not have." Soon the stores were openly flouting the law against selling cigarettes to minors. Whatever it may have signified, the cigarette had come to stay.

Before the war, drinking in moderation was a Hunterdon County custom sanctified by long tradition. The temperance movement had had its effect here, but much of it had apparently worn off. There was, however, a strong feeling against over-indulgence, as shown by the custom of each town's having a "jag list" of men to whom liquor was not to be sold. After the coming of the automobile, villages often exchanged lists with one another. During the early days of the war, the W.C.T.U. and Anti-Saloon League activities were stepped up, receiving full support from the *Democrat*. But the idea of tying patriotism and temperance together did not dawn until conservation supplied the cue. The war measure which stopped the making of whiskey at 11 P.M. on September 8, 1917, affected only one distillery in Hunterdon County, but it led to renewed activities on the part of the dry forces. Lambertville soon cut its number of liquor licenses from seven to four. A Willard Memorial meeting at Flemington in early February, 1918, triumphantly sang "We'll Make the Nation Dry" and "The Tide Rolls In."

When the local option law passed the New Jersey Legislature in January, 1918, Assemblyman David Agins of Three Bridges said, "My county has been referred to as one of backwoods and applejack, but it has redeemed itself, and I believe that if it could vote now it would go bone dry." In the first local vote, however, Hampton voted by 115 to 92 to keep its two saloons. In Flemington, the drys put on a heavily subsidized campaign. Their slogan was "Come to the Help of the Lord." The *Democrat* gave the campaign every possible help. The Women's Club sponsored a "no license parade" by the women and children. When the shouting was over, Flemington was dry by 104 votes. Typical reactions were shown by the first two travelers who paused in the village. The first, a minister, shouted "Hallelujah" when he learned the news. The other, a truck driver, said, "All you can get is coffee here. This is one of the ——— towns I ever struck." The three hotels closed in protest, and the Flemington Fair was called off for 1918. One of the hotels, the Union Hotel, reopened after four months, and the Flemington Fair reopened in 1919.

Returns from other places were divided. Readington Township stayed wet by thirteen votes, while Clinton Township decided by fourteen votes to close the bars of the hotels at Lebanon and Annandale. As it happened, the Volstead Act closed all saloons anyway before very long. The Lambertville *Beacon* reported a booming trade in "near beer," and a new plant manufacturing carbonated grape juice at Flemington was soon doing a booming business despite sugar restrictions.

The war is generally credited with bringing woman suffrage, but of course this would not have been the case except for the determined suffrage movement in the years before. In New Jersey, this movement had reached a peak during 1915, when a referendum was held as to state action on the Constitutional amendment. The proponents of suffrage were very active in Hunterdon County. In addition to local talent, such professional suffragettes as May Ella Reeves Bloor were invited in to make speeches in Flemington and elsewhere. In July, the Hunterdon County Branch of the Women's Political Union planned for meetings at Flemington, Whitehouse, Annandale, Clinton, High Bridge, Lambertville, and Stockton. The editor of the *Democrat-*

Advertiser, a woman, was a strong partisan for the cause. Iorio's Open Air Theater showed Annette Kellerman in the suffrage play, "Neptune's Daughter." Just before the election, it was reported that the Lambertville Suffrage Association was putting on a vigorous campaign. Advertisements played up the endorsement of President Wilson, and made "appeals for liberty." In the October 21 issue, the *Democrat-Advertiser* admitted that the amendment had been decisively defeated in the county and in the state. The editor averred that the women had not expected to win yet, and that they would not give up now. However, the movement dropped out of the news for the time being.

The women soon proved their mettle in doing war work. Not only did they participate in the various activities which have been reported, but many of them entered the field of men's activity. Committees of women did praiseworthy work in the Liberty Loan and War Saving Stamp drives, and women held executive positions in the Red Cross and other relief agencies. In the meantime, they had not forgotten their desire to vote. A Red Cross play at Ringoes was entitled "Suffragists' Convention." A W.C.T.U. speech, entitled "The Relation of Woman Suffrage and Prohibition," did the usual thing of joining "isms." Before long, there was an undercurrent of talk common to the nation, that the women should be rewarded for their untiring war efforts by giving them the vote. The editor of the *Democrat,* despite his personal dislike for the editor of the *Democrat-Advertiser,* endorsed her cause, and spoke of "the work, the energy, the brains given to the cause of Humanity and good government by the Women." Already a new national amendment was up before Congress. Before long the ladies would have an opportunity to purify politics and to sweep all graft and inefficiency out of government.

Whether the psychologists who claim that women's clothes reflect the times are correct cannot be decided here. But it is certain that a strange cycle in ladies' clothes began in 1917. Captain E. B. Pea, columnist for the *Democrat,* began to show concern. In September, 1917, he inquired for "the name of those many colored handled contraptions women are carrying around." A little later, he described a woman's hat as "a three cornered

dingus with turrets and curleycues and a cat's tail and a chicken head pinned on one side, and a whisk broom and a bunch of young onions on the other, and two strips of red flannel hanging down the rear." He was sure that a man would be locked up if he appeared in public in such a monstrosity. In October, his editor took a poke at the new habit of using rouge, observing that Hunterdon County had "a high reputation for peaches of all kinds, white, yellow, and the painted kind in dresses." The hems of skirts had already begun their upward trend. Captain E. B. Pea made a special expedition to see whether the Hunterdon County teachers, then holding a County Institute, had yet joined in the "distracting" tendency toward short dresses and gay socks. The poor man did not realize that he was witnessing only the beginning of a cycle.

On November 4, 1918, there were noisy celebrations everywhere as a result of the Austrian capitulation. Victory was already in the air, and on November 7 a mistaken United Press report caused a "great parade of noise and flags and automobiles" in Flemington. Schools and business houses closed. "Patriotism so bubbled over that work was out of the question." Even the mayor's announcement later in the day that peace was not yet official did not stop the celebration. The story was the same in other villages. Quakertown noisily celebrated "the surrender of Berlin." Stockton, Ringoes, and Sergeantsville each held their own celebrations, and many of the participants went to Lambertville in the evening to join in the one still in progress there.

As it turned out, each community had the job to do over again four days later. The "glorious victory of democracy" was celebrated by "parades and noise" in village after village. To cap it off, a celebration at Flemington on a county basis was announced for November 14. The call was "Come on, everybody, and be glad you live in America." Parades in the afternoon included the school children, the Flemington band, the Red Cross, and many autoists. In the evening, despite the cold, large crowds packed the streets. Several fire companies, and bands from Lambertville, New Hope, and Frenchtown were there. Burlesquers, decorated cars, and floats received loud applause. The crowd sang, "Goodby, Kaiser," as that gentleman was burned in effigy. A man of

straw, wearing an Iron Cross, was put up at auction, and brought $40 for the Red Cross. A donation was taken, resulting in a fund of $150 to buy tobacco for the boys in camp. The next days brought special services of thanksgiving and "victory services" at the churches. The *Democrat* spoke for everyone when it said, "So let us give thanks, not that we have beaten Germany, but that we have won for righteousness."

Almost immediately there were evidences of emotional reaction. Life as it was lived before the war suddenly seemed wonderfully desirable. Restrictions of all kinds were thankfully dropped. The soldiers would soon be returning home. There was still, of course, the "United War Work Campaign" to finish. The county in the end exceeded its quota, but many districts reported the necessity of strenuous and overtime efforts because of ebbing enthusiasm. One prominent citizen, who had a great deal to do with war work and who was himself a liberal contributor, later looked back to say, "By the time that war was over, we were so sick of it." Another, a leader in Liberty Loan drives, remarked in 1940, "To hear the young people talk now, it sounds like 1917. But I was just telling my wife that someone else will have to sell the bonds this time." On being pressed, however, he admitted that he might well become just as enthusiastic over another war should it come.

New Jersey Iron: The State Museum Exhibit

BORIS ERICH NELSON

Down in the Pine Barrens of South Jersey and among the rugged hills of the northern counties, once rich in wood and water—there yet stand the crumbling remains of New Jersey's early iron industry. From the northeast near Tuxedo on the New York line, passing southeast through the hills to the Delaware River near Phillipsburg; and from the coast, not far from the present Atlantic City, going northwest through the Pine Barrens to the Delaware River below Burlington—here scores of furnaces and forges consumed thousands of acres of woodlands in converting local iron ore into marketable products between 1760 and 1840.

The current exhibit at the State Museum in Trenton, "New Jersey Iron, 1674-1850," presents outstanding examples of early arts and crafts of New Jersey which have been too long hidden in obscurity. It is the third in a series and tells the story of iron in New Jersey: the discovery of ore and the early iron production; the forges and furnaces; iron's role in the Revolutionary War; the economic development in the nineteenth century; and iron in use—in the home, on the farm, and in transportation. The story closes with a view towards steel at around 1850, the terminal point of this exhibition which—one hopes—will be continued in the near future to bring it up to date, now that iron and steel are returning in prominence to New Jersey and the Delaware River valley.

Taken in proper perspective, the exhibition begins with Iron in Antiquity, Iron in Europe and then leads into Iron in Early America. Then it concentrates on the history and products of

The Writer, lecturer, author, and teacher, holds degrees of Ph.D. and Litt.D. from the universities of Heidelberg, Oxford, and Chicago. For fifteen years he has served the New Jersey State Museum as an advisor and research assistant. Dr. Nelson has worked with the Museum for such special exhibitions as the "Early Musical Instruments," "Biography of the Book," "The American Heritage," "Electronics," and the present "New Jersey Iron" exhibit.

some sixteen forges and furnaces, whose history links the development of the industry with the economy of the state. Among these are the Shrewsbury Furnace, also known as the Tinton Falls Iron Works, in Monmouth County, which existed 1674-1746; Mount Holly Iron Works on the Rancocas Creek in Burlington County, 1703-78; Ringwood Furnace & Forges in Bergen (now Passaic) County, 1739 to after 1853; Oxford Furnace on a branch of the Pequest Creek in Sussex (now Warren) County, 1742-1882; Union Iron Works, now Taylor-Wharton Iron & Steel Company, on Smalley's Creek in Hunterdon County, which has been operating since 1742 and still is—under the Taylor family since 1780 when Robert Taylor, a former manager, became part owner; Andover Iron Works, 1760-80; Hibernia Furnace & Forge on the Whippany River in Morris County, 1763-1798 and 1815-*c.* 1831, built by Samuel Ford, a member of another family prominent in the iron industry in New Jersey. And there are the Bloomingdale Furnace, Aetna, Batsto, Atsion, Weymouth, Mount Hope, Dover, and Monmouth or Howell Works—all truly representative of the iron industry of those early years.

A complete colonial kitchen and fireplace with hearth, Dutch oven, cooking utensils and kitchen items of all descriptions and usefulness, made of iron, are assembled just as they might have been placed and used two hundred years ago. Adjacent to it there is the reconstruction of a nineteenth-century blacksmith shop with forge and anvil, the tools and products of the smith, the wheelwright, the general "fixer" of old, to whom were brought all sorts of special requests and special repairs.

Of particular attention are the items associated with the Revolutionary War, for they show the importance of another activity of the citizens of the state in the winning of this nation's sovereignty. The progress of iron manufacture in the American colonies was watched with anxiety and some envy by the ironmasters of Great Britain, who feared the competition. As early as 1719 an attempt was made in the House of Commons to pass a bill "prohibiting the manufacture of iron wares of any kind of sows, or pigs, or bars whatsoever," to which the House of Lords added "that no forge going by water, or other works should be erected in any of the said plantations for the making, working,

or converting of any sows, pigs, or cast-iron into bar or red iron."

Unsuccessful as this attempt was, only ten years later another bill was pending with the aim "to preserve His Majesty's woods" by prohibiting the making of iron and directing colonial governors to demolish forges but encouraging the exportation by the colonies of iron ore. In the 1730's an average of little more than fourteen hundred tons of American pig iron was shipped annually to England, in the 1740's the exports increased to almost twenty-three hundred tons per year. Bar iron shipped amounted to less than six tons a year in the 1730's and but thirty-five tons through 1749.

The bill failed, but the general agitation against colonial iron continued, resulting in 1750 in a law by Parliament prohibiting the erection of any further rolling mills, slitting mills, tilt-hammer forges, or furnaces "in Any of the Said Colonies," but again the law encouraged "the Importation of Pig and Bar Iron"—duty-free—importation however restricted to the Port of London. Existing colonial plants were allowed to function but had to be registered, submitting full details as to plant, size, products, men employed, etc. But in 1754 there were reports of many furnaces and forges (not all registered ones) in full activity.

The population of the colonies was increasing rapidly and the domestic demand for iron and its products was growing larger. Many new plants were springing up and operating in defiance of the law; the timbered lands and streams were an ideal combination together with the ore and often iron-making became a very profitable by-product of the clearance of woodlands. By 1773 many of the plants depended upon a comparatively quick turnover, since they operated with little cash. Competition was quite keen; price-cutting became prevalent; luring of good workers was not frowned upon, and finally owners and ironmasters tried to agree on "better business methods," but no specific results were ever reported.

In 1775 there were mounting protests against British restrictions. Ironmasters were among the initial promoters of disaffection against British rule, and most of them lined up solidly with the colonies in producing iron materiel for war, in political agitation and in military service. Several of the men associated with

the iron industry were appointed to Congress and some even signed the Declaration of Independence. Others associated with iron became well-known military leaders: General Daniel Morgan, General Nathanael Green, and Colonel Ethan Allen. The Revolution, after all, resulted in part from prohibitions by the British of manufacture and trade by the colonies. And had it not been for a well-functioning iron industry ready and eager to supply the Revolutionary troops, it is easy to guess what might have happened. Even as it was, the colonials suffered from a constant lack of munitions, guns, etc., for the British knew how to harass the supply and destroyed many a forge and furnace.

There were of course other problems. By an act of 1777 price control against profiteering was established in New Jersey, rates being set for pig metal at twenty shillings per hundredweight, while bloomery bar iron sold at sixty shillings per hundredweight. In 1779 there was "reasonable" price-fixing against exorbitant charges: bloomery iron at the works sold at £450 per ton, and nail rod iron per hundredweight at £59. And still ten years later prices were fixed (as for example £8 per ton of pig iron) "to allow small profit margin above raw stuff and labor costs."

Iron, still basic even to its direct successor, steel, has a fascinating ancestry, and New Jersey played its usual important role in it.

ANTIQUER'S ATTIC

MARGARET E. WHITE

This department deals with New Jersey antiques and their makers. Miss White, who is curator of decorative arts on the Newark Museum staff, plans to cover various aspects of the subject in future articles. As with other departments, information and suggestions will be welcomed.

CABINETMAKERS OF NEW JERSEY

Much interesting furniture has been made in New Jersey during the past two or three hundred years. It is regrettable that the early furniture-makers of our state cannot be fully traced. Of late years considerable interest has been shown in the subject, but information is far from adequate. Therefore, it is earnestly requested that anyone having authenticated data will please communicate with the editor of this department. Likewise, Miss Katherine Gamble, director of the Montclair Art Museum, would appreciate having such information, as the Museums Council of New Jersey is compiling a list of furniture and other decorative arts made and/or owned in our state.

As New Jersey became settled and men found time to develop their crafts, certain men were recognized as skilled furniture-makers. Their reputation was spread by word of mouth before the days of advertisements and city directories. Like limners of the period, these cabinetmakers left their work unsigned and too often pieces of fine workmanship have been casually attributed to craftsmen of Philadelphia or New York, because it was thought that the best workmen gravitated to the cities.

Who were some of the cabinetmakers of early New Jersey? In the 1770's John Lanning was a chairmaker in Salem. Maskell Ware, born 1776, learned his trade from Lanning with whom he lived while serving his apprenticeship. Ware set up in business as chairmaker near Roadstown, Cumberland County. Five of the seven sons learned the father's craft and a great-grandson, George Ware of Roadstown, was still engaged in the family trade in the 1930's.

In the 1770's Isaac Alling was making furniture in the town of Newark. Isaac taught the craft to his eldest child, David, who was born in Newark on September 17, 1773. David continued his father's business and became famous for his chairs. One may judge of their worth from the fact that Elias E. Boudinot of Park Place commissioned David Alling to make the "beautiful sofa and most elegant sideboard of an entirely new pattern" that graced the suite of rooms set aside in the Boudinot mansion for the Marquis de Lafayette when he visited Newark in 1824. That Alling made an "elegant sideboard" is significant since he termed himself a "fancy chair manufacturer," not a cabinetmaker.

Both the New Jersey Historical Society and the Newark Museum own paintings of David Alling's house and shop, built about 1790. The house was located at 347 Broad Street with the shop at 345. From the covered porch of the house one entered a square hall. To the left was a parlor with another room back of that. The rooms to the right of the hall served David Alling as showroom and workshop. In the *History of Newark,* published 1878, Joseph Atkinson wrote: "Chairmaking was quite extensively carried on here, a leading manufacturer for many years being David Alling, who was highly esteemed as one of the most active and energetic business men of the town. He established a high reputation for style and workmanship, and not only supplied a large home trade but an extensive Southern demand, especially between the years 1825 and 1836."

By 1837-38 Alling had erected the separate shop to the left of the house, for, according to the Newark city directory, David Alling and John Hall were then in business together at "345 and 349 Broad-street, opposite the City Hotel, where they keep constantly on hand at their Ware Rooms, Rocking, Fancy, Cane Bottom and common Sitting Chairs, made in a substantial manner and of the latest patterns." The partnership only lasted from 1837 to 1841, Hall later joining with John R. Tillou of Newark to make and repair furniture. An interesting side light on David Alling was his cordiality toward Frenchmen visiting this country after the Revolution. Both the Vicomte de Chateaubriand and the Duke de Talleyrand-Perigord stayed at the Alling house. It is said that the outline for *Le Genie du Christianisme,* which Chateaubriand completed in a London garret, was written in David Alling's home. Talleyrand, posing as a teacher of French and an amateur chair-maker, remained with Alling for some time during 1794-95. It was here that Talleyrand is thought to have written his essay *Une Memoire sur les Relations Commerciales des Etats-Unis vers 1797.*

When David Alling died in 1855, John Jelliff took over the business. But four years later it was bought by Peter G. McDermit of Newark.

Among outstanding cabinetmakers of New Jersey were the Egertons of New Brunswick. Matthew Egerton (1739-1802) was the first of three generations who produced furniture with veneers and inlays after the manner of Hepplewhite and Sheraton. Like other cabinetmakers of their day, the Egertons also made funeral equipment. A mahogany sewing table by Matthew Egerton, Senior, is in the Old Dutch Parsonage at Somerville. The legs are spiral-turned. Inside the upper drawer is the original printed label:

MATTHEW EGERTON,
CABINET MAKER
IN BURNET STREET
NEW BRUNSWICK, [N.J.]

Matthew Egerton, Junior, was probably trained by his father, for their work was so similar that it was difficult at times to distinguish

between their productions. After the father's death the son dropped the "Junior," which fact may help in dating pieces known to have been made by the son. A tall clock case made by the son during the 1790's bears the label:

> Made and Sold by Matthew Egerton, Junior, Joiner and Cabinetmaker, New Brunswick, New-Jersey

Matthew Egerton, Junior, "was a man of property and a prominent member of the community." He had three sons, two of whom were apprenticed to their father. John evidently went into business for himself, but Evert joined with his father under the firm name of Matthew Egerton (Jr.) & Son. The three generations of Egertons constructed fine examples of household furniture, including mahogany and cherry bureaus; clock cases; desks; tables; bookcases; chests. There is no evidence that they constructed chairs. Matthew Egerton, Jr., died in 1837. His sons John and Evert both died the following year. Thus ended the work of one family that had flourished for a century.

It was customary to have a local cabinetmaker construct a case of mahogany, cherry or pine, for works made by a clockmaker. The tall clocks, often termed "grandfather," provided handsome decoration for an American home. It has been suggested that one of the Egertons may have made the long case for a clock by Joakim Hill of Flemington, New Jersey, which is now in the American Wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The clock face is signed "Joakim Hill Flemington." The mahogany case, expertly inlaid with satinwood, shows our national emblem on the long front panel. Shortly after the framing of the Constitution in 1787 the bald eagle became not only America's emblem but also an extremely popular motif of decoration on objects of household use. Joseph Aronson illustrates this clock in his *Encyclopedia of Furniture* (number 67). Other makers of tall-clock cases were Rosett & Mulford of Elizabethtown* who also advertised "fashionable" furniture.

The number of furniture-makers doing business in Newark during the 1830's and 40's seems astonishingly large for so young a city. In 1836 Daniel B. and Lemuel M. Crane were "Cabinet Ware Manufacturers" near the Weigh Lock of the Morris Canal with showrooms at 319 Broad Street. James H. Crane & Co., also manufacturers of cabinet ware, were located at the Lock Port. D. B. Brown & Co.; Eli Holloway; (Nathan) Muzzy and (Charles) Merchant were situated along Broad Street. These firms advertised as wholesale and retail manufacturers of chairs, sofas, and picture frames. Holloway, "near the Episcopal Church," also had "Ready made Coffins always on hand." William B. Douglass of 65 Market Street not only made chairs, sofas, and Venetian blinds, but also furnished "at short notice, and on reasonable terms," coffins, plates, caps, shrouds, hearses, etc.

*See E. T. Hutchinson, "Isaac Brokaw, Jersey Clockmaker," in the July 1954 Proceedings.

The house and shop of cabinetmaker David Alling, on Broad Street in Newark. Two contemporary paintings of this scene, nearly alike, are owned by the New Jersey Historical Society and the Newark Museum. The latter has been used for the above illustration. The other painting is on exhibition at present, and may be seen hanging in the Society's museum.

During the 1850's and 60's, advertisements in the Newark city directory included sketches of the current fashions in "common and fancy chairs," sofas, Venetian blinds, pianos and melodeons. In 1851 Cornelius Hughes of 108 Broad Street announced that he had "the Exclusive Right to Manufacture and sell in Essex County *O'Neil's valuable Patent Lounge.* This lounge is simple, durable and Cheap, and may easily be so elevated and depressed as to be thrown in any desirable shape to suit the comfort of the incumbent. It is easily adapted to relieve the *Sick* in every stage of disease or fracture, and is very convenient for a casual rest. It *is* something *New and Good,* and the Public are invited to call and see it."

The outstanding furniture-maker in Newark at this time was John Jelliff, born July 30, 1813. At the age of sixteen John was apprenticed to Samuel M. Crane of Newark to learn "the art, trade and occupation of cabinetmaking." Presumably, John finished his apprenticeship in the late summer of 1835. As a freeman he was then able to cast his first vote at the first charter election on April 11, 1836.

On March 16th of that year John Jelliff married Mary Marsh of Newark in the Dutch Reformed Church. For a brief period following his marriage John lived at 13 Fair Street and his widowed mother, Mrs. Nancy Jelliff, made her home with him. Later, Jelliff moved to fashionable Washington Street. In 1838 John Jelliff and Thomas L. Vantilburg were in partnership at 333 Broad Street, near the City Hall. They advertised as "Manufacturers and Dealers in Cabinet Furniture, Mahogany Chairs, Sofas, Mattrasses, etc.," their wareroom displaying "a splendid assortment of Cabinet Ware of the latest patterns, cheap for cash." In 1846-47 Jelliff added to his customary advertisement, "Coffins made to order."

The partnership with Vantilburg was dissolved about 1843. It was another eighteen years before Jelliff took as partner Henry H. Miller, who had previously been his foreman. In 1890 Miller succeeded Jelliff who died three years later. John Jelliff was a successful manufacturer, a prominent business man, and deeply interested in the founding of Grace Church, in which he served as a vestryman. Jelliff did not always approve of progress, for he sternly objected when a bathtub was installed in his home, and he refused to manufacture machine-made furniture. His favorite woods were walnut and rosewood with the occasional use of a fruit wood or maple as inlay. He let his woods season about two years before using them and his pieces were always carved by hand.

The Newark Museum has a silver medal awarded to John Jelliff on September 23, 1847, by Essex County Institute New Jersey "for the best specimen of mahogany chairs exhibited." The New Jersey Historical Society owns an armchair made by Jelliff about 1850. In the Newark Museum is a side chair in pseudo-Gothic style designed by Mary C. P. Peshine about 1838.

It is said that Jelliff made this chair at night, the only light being a lantern held by his foreman, Henry Miller. Another chair in Gothic style was made by Jelliff about 1860 for Moses Bigelow of 1020 Broad Street. Of considerable interest are a collection of Jelliff's pencil sketches done on old envelopes and scraps of paper. These drawings show his meticulous attention to detail. They also show how closely Jelliff's furniture designs adhered to the popular styles, currently known as "Gothic," French rococo," or "Italian Renaissance."

The Museum has a rosewood desk in the so-called "French" style made for Mrs. Daniel McMurtry, daughter of Stephen Roff, whose tavern was on Branford Place in Newark. There is also a double parlor set in rosewood with hand-carved heads, tassels, and fruit. The side chairs have short arms to allow for the spread of ladies' crinolines. These pieces are typical of Jelliff's work. They are mortised, no nails being used. Comparing the carved details with Jelliff's pencil sketches, one can almost relate them to each other.

SMALL & SUNDRY

So who is it?

My husband's my uncle, my Son is
my brother,
His wife is my sister, and I am her
mother;
I have children twice three, and
may have one more,
That belongs to my brother; I'm a
grandma to four;
I've a sister named Peggy, whose
mother I am;
My brother is my son, and his name
it is John.
This paradox strange, it may appear
unto you;
The people of Spank-Town will
aver it is true.

—*New-Jersey Journal,* Chatham, N.J., June 18, 1783. From Henry W. Pilch.

The taking of Fort Mifflin

The gallant American defense of Delaware River positions which blocked British fleet units seeking to reach Philadelphia in 1778 was one of the most dramatic actions of the Revolutionary War. Here, as found in a contemporary American periodical, is an account of the heroic struggle at Fort Mifflin.

"The British army was in possession of Philadelphia, but the communication was not open with their fleet, and Gen. Washington leaving the town had taken care to put a garrison in Fort Mifflin, not as strong as the importance and exigences of the place did require, but such as the situation of his army could afford.

"Fort Mifflin was nothing more than a wooden fort, quite unfit to support a siege. The enclosure was of pallisades, on the side of Province Island; and a wall without terriplain on the side of New-Jersey, very dangerous for the splinters; and in front opposite to Hog-Island, a water battery of 16 guns 18 pounders, and one 32 pounder.

"The enemy were not unacquainted with the miserable situation of the fort; and their chief engineer Montresor, who had been employed in its construction, knew its weakness, and the most proper means to reduce it. Accordingly as soon as the end of September, a strong body of their army was employed on Province-Island, to raise batteries against the fort, and covering works upon the heights in their rear, for their protection against the attacks that might possibly happen from Gen. Washington by the side of Derby.

"The garrison of the fort was quite inadequate to its extensiveness and the heavy duty, which required 1500 men, instead of 500, which had been left for the defense of that place, and two thirds of these were Jersey militia.

"Col. Smith the commandant of the fort, and major Fleury chief engineer, were thoroughly acquainted with the insufficiency of the garrison, and the bad situation of the place; but it was to be defended to the last extremity.

"About the beginning of October, the enemy on Province Island opened two mortars, and three heavy guns against the south-west

block-house, and leaving these two batteries unsupported, gave an opportunity to Col. Smith to order a sally above and below, and the two parties, supported by the gallies under commodore Hazlewood, landed on the beach of Province Island, and stormed the battery, which was defended by two officers and 60 British, who surrendered themselves, and were carried into the fort before the enemy's guards could attack our party, but not before the guns were spiked up.

"That small check caused the enemy to be more cautious, and the guard of their trenches was afterwards so strong that it became impossible to make any other attempt.

"In the mean time the enemy's batteries had got ready, and about the 10th of October two bomb batteries, several howitzers, three gun batteries, one of six guns 24 pounders, between the two lowest block-houses, the other at the hospital wharf, of five 24 pounders, and one intermediary upon the little wharf of communication between Province and Mud Island.

"A bridge of boats was besides made at the lower ferry, for the communication between the division at the trenches, and the main camp at Philadelphia. Two other batteries were likewise raised on the point of land, at the mouth of Schuylkill, to cut off the upper navigation of the river.

"The besieged were not inactive during this time. They raised a two 18 pounder battery against the enemy's main battery, and another of two 8 pounders to annoy the battery on the wharf; they secured their magazine against shells; they made several traverses in their water battery, which was enfiladed on all sides, and especially on the rear, by the hospital battery. They endeavoured to cover themselves against the shots of Province Island, and digged in the inside of the fort a square intrenchment enforced with casks filled with earth; but could not find any means to be secured against bombs and carcases. As it was very much to be feared that a storm would be attempted they surrounded the fort with *wolf-holes* and vertical pickets, to render the approaches more difficult, and make up the number of the defenders.

"From the 10th of October to the 21st, a severe fire was kept up; the two west block-houses were ruined, and the north one blown up by the fall of several shells; and the enemy seeing the breaches made to the pallisades, hoped to be soon in possession of the fort, and as it was very important for their remaining in Philadelphia, that the communication be open, they determined a general storm on Mud Island the 22d of October.

"Previous to it, in the evening of the 21st, the Hessian brigade crossed to Cooper's ferry, and by the road of Haddon-field, came to storm fort Mercer on the Jersey shore, about 1500 yards north east of fort Miflin, and up the river.

"The attack was so rash, that even success could not justify its temerity. The parapet was high, the ditch deep, a row of strong pallisades sallied out from the parapet, a blockhouse on the south side

overlooked all the ground round the fort, which was surrounded with a double abattis.

"Before the storm of the fort was attempted, Col. Donop sent a flag to Col. Green who commanded in the fort, threatning to put the garrison to the sword if he did not surrender it immediately. Col. Green answered, with disdain, that he would defend it till the last drop of his blood. About an hour before night the attack was begun on the north and the south side.

"Both the attacks were such as was expected. The artillery and musketry of the fort, and the heavy guns of the gallies, poured grape shot and cannon balls upon them, and made great slaughter. They advanced as far as the abbatis, but they could not remove it; and being repulsed with great loss, they left their commanding officer dying in the glacis, and retreated with hurry and confusion. They rallied in the woods; and leaving their wounded and dead, about three hundred, in the hands of the victors, retired to Philadelphia the same night.

"Col. Green, and all the officers who had shewed so much courage in repulsing the enemy, treated the wounded with as much humanity. Col. Donop was attended with the greatest care; he died a few days after the action, and told major Duplessys, who commanded the artillery in the fort, *I fall a victim to my own ambition, and to the avarice of my prince; but full of thankfulness for the good treatment I have received from my generous enemy.* He was buried with the honours of war, and the glory of col. Green was increased by his generosity.

"The morning after the attack upon fort Mercer, it was fort Miflin's turn; and on the 22d about nine o'clock the ships Eagle, Somerset, Isis, Augusta, Pearl, Liverpool, and several frigates, with a galley, came up to the chevaux de frize, five hundred yards from the fort. At the same time, the land batteries, the fort batteries, and the American gallies, and the British squadron engaged, and one of the most solemn actions commenced, that may be seen by a soldier's eye.

"The spectacle was magnificent. To see at once, the river covered with ships,—four great fire ships in blaze, floating on the water,—the islands and the main covered with smoke and fire,—part of the English army drawn up in battle array on Province Island ready to throw themselves into boats, to storm the fort, which appeared involved with fire, and was the prize of the day.

"The firing lasted till noon with relentless fury; the fort frequently fired red hot balls, and either by chance or good luck of one of these shots, the Augusta, a 64 gun ship, the nearest to the battery, suddenly took fire at the stern; in a moment she was in a blaze, and soon after blew up with a thundering noise, before the enemy could take out all their hands. A moment after, the Merlin, a 22 gun frigate ran ashore below the Augusta, and as she could not be removed from the explosion, took fire, and also blew up.

"The other ships, frightened by

the fate of these two, retired below Hog Island; and the land batteries (which had hoisted the bloody flag, to warn the garrison that they were not to expect any quarter) continued their firing till the evening. The troops that were to storm the fort did not attempt it; and the victory remained to the fort and the gallies.

"Col. Smith, who had been sometime superseded in his command by the baron d'Arand, a Prussian officer, got the command again, by his absence occasioned by sickness.

"The garrison was very much decreased by the dead, wounded and sick, and it was thought necessary to relieve part of it, and some Virginia and Pennsylvania troops took place of the militia.

"The fatigue in a place where no body could sleep, on account of the numerous shells, the garrison not having any covering, was as great as the danger. The salt provisions, the water in which they were obliged to walk to the knees, the cold nights, and especially the want of sleep, turned the men to the hospital.

"The inclemency of the season, almost insupportable in the fort, was very troublesome to the enemy. In the beginning of the siege, the garrison had opened the beach of Province Island, in order to overflow it. The enemy filled up the beach again, but not with sufficient care; for a heavy storm with north east wind, raised the water so high, and increased its strength so much, that it broke the beach, and almost overflowed the island. Mud island was drowned as much as the opposite shore. The water was two feet deep in the fort, and all the barracs that yet remained were filled with it; and the fire from either side was neither heavy nor continual.

"The enemy considering that if the fort was not taken or destroyed, they would be obliged to evacuate Philadelphia, made new and stronger batteries, and about the 8th of November, kept up an incessant fire against the fort. All the pallisades were broken down, the block houses ruined, the ditch filled up with mud by the last strong tides. Capt. Treat, who distinguished himself by his bravery, and his lieutenant were killed, the garrison exhausted and reduced, col. Smith wounded, who went out of the fort with the old garrison, being relieved by Major Thayr, with some New-England troops. M. Fleury would not be relieved, but remained with the new garrison, and under the three commanding officers successively.

"The enemy were now persuaded that the promises of their engineer Montresor, who had constructed the fort, and had boasted at the beginning that he would reduce it in a few days, were vain, and expecting very little from their land batteries, depended upon their fleet, and cut down a large India-man as a floating battery.

"The channel between Hog and Tinicum islands had not been stopped. The tide broken by the chevaux de frize in the main channel, had opened a new current on that side, where the river was deeper than it was thought to be.

"The siege had already lasted from the 27th of September till the 15th of November. All was destroyed by the carcases, shells, and balls. On the 15th of that month, the enemy made a furious attack by the river, and land and floating batteries on the fort.

"The ships came as near to the fort as possible in the main channel, and the Vigilant, carrying twenty 24 pounders, came up under the protection of the land batteries, behind Hog island, and anchored forty yards from the angle of the battery. Fort Miflin had been so much exposed on that side, that on it did not remain a single gun. Major Thayr ordered the 32 pounder to be carried there, which was effected with great trouble and danger. Before the Vigilant began to fire, that single gun put fourteen shots in her board. But as soon as she was at anchor, and began to play, all resistance became impossible. In three or four broad sides, not only the parapet and the carriages, but even the iron of the guns themselves were broken, the platform destroyed, and the traverses beat down, and in half a hour, not a gun in the fort was able to fire. Soon after the Vigilant, a sloop of war carrying eighteen guns came up, and anchoring above her, played against the fort all the afternoon.

"The gallies were in the mean time employed against the ships, and the shells pouring upon the fort from Province island, they were not able to give us any assistance.

"In this critical situation a storm was expected all the afternoon. The garrison buried in ruins, unable to retreat during the day, and unwilling to do it, as long as they could expect reinforcements, had not any expectation but to sell their lives as dear as they could. However the enemy did not profit of that moment. Major Thayer assembled a council of war in the midst of the firing, a little before night. It was impossible to defend the fort with so small a force, and it was determined to call for a reinforcement from fort Mercer, and if they could not reinforce us, to evacuate the fort.

"Before the council of war broke up, Major Fleury, who commanded the infantry of the battery that day, and Major Talbot were wounded by the bursting of a shell, and an officer of artillery killed.

"At ten o'clock, no reinforcement came from Jersey, but boats were sent for to carry us off. It was become impossible to defend the fort any longer. Open on all sides, without a single gun, it was no longer a defence for the river.

"Major Thayer evacuated the fort with a degree of firmness equal to the bravery of his defence. He set fire to the remains of the platform and barrac, and with less than two hundred men, having carried off all the wounded, he arrived at fort Mercer about one o'clock in the morning, being the last man that left the fort.

"The enemy took possession of the fort half an hour after the garrison had left it."—*United States Magazine*, May 1779, pages 204-08.

DIRECTOR'S DIARY

ALEXANDER J. WALL, JR.

BECAUSE Labor Day fell on such a late date this year, our society has been closed for an unusually long time. However, the summer is a period when comparatively few people visit us. Statistics have shown that daily attendance in summer is only one-third of that reached during the other seasons. I am sure you will observe, however, especially when you visit the Society, that the staff has not been altogether idle.

The building is now in a fairly sparkling condition, following a month of intensive cleaning. Furthermore, the auditorium has been entirely redecorated in warm shades of gray and red, a project shared jointly by the Society and the Woman's Branch. Meanwhile our librarian, Mr. Davis, has been engaged in a survey of our library holdings and is well advanced on a project of culling from our shelves a large number of volumes not related to the history of this region.

Plans have also been made for a number of interesting events to take place this fall. A talk on "John Watson, Early New Jersey Painter," will be presented on Saturday afternoon, October 2, by Theodore Bolton, librarian of the Century Club of New York, and accompanying the talk will be an exhibition of the Society's collection of the Watson miniature drawings, presented last fall by Mrs. Lucien B. Horton, to remain on view through November. The exhibition of fans will continue until October 10. The annual meeting of the Society will be held on Wednesday, October 27, consisting of a business meeting, luncheon, and an afternoon session at which Bruce Catton, author of *A Stillness at Appomattox* and this year's Pulitzer Prize winner, will be the principal speaker. A feature of the occasion will be the opening of a special exhibition of mementoes of American political campaigns from the outstanding collection of Mrs. Damon G. Douglas. The exhibition will continue through November.

Our fall film program will be presented on Saturday mornings in November. The films to be shown are: November 6, "Headlines of the Century," compiled from the newsreels of the past fifty years; November 13, "The Perfect Tribute," "The Man in the Barn," and "Lincoln in the White House," three films concerning our Civil War President and his slayer; November 20, "Eli Whitney," "Andrew Carnegie," and "Servant of Mankind" (Edison), three men who have been responsible for vast changes in our way of life; and November 27, "Pioneer of Flight," "Story of Charles Goodyear," and

"Studebaker Story," three films relating to developments in transportation.

We hope it will be possible to arrange a Christmas program this year. Whether it is possible or not will depend upon the condition of our South Gallery, where a special exhibition on the American family of 1875 is to be installed, including the construction of three period rooms. More details concerning this will appear in the January 1955 PROCEEDINGS.

The Society's museum continues to receive worthwhile additions. Among the recent gifts for which the Society is very appreciative are: collections of costume and accessories of the late nineteenth century from Mrs. John G. Wardlaw of South Orange and Mrs. Gilbert Brooks Keeler of Maplewood; a silver tea service made by Peter Chitry, working in New York 1814-25; flat silver, family portraits, and several pieces of early lace from the estate of Mrs. Lillian P. Mendenhall, Litchfield, Conn.; a portable writing desk with secret compartments and a buckle and seal probably belonging to David Brearley, a signer of the U.S. Constitution from New Jersey, the gift of Miss Margaret Brearley of New York City; a black iron sink and pump for our forthcoming Victorian period kitchen from Mr. Clark Willever of Washington, N.J.; and three dentists' turnkeys from Mrs. Harvey Iredell of Highland Park.

Dr. McCormick, president of the Society, and your director represented the Society and appeared on the program at the annual meeting of the American Association for State and Local History at Madison, Wisconsin, on September 9th, 10th, and 11th. The meeting was an extremely stimulating one, having as its theme "Ideas in Conflict" and presenting for discussion by historical leaders from all parts of the country such thoughts as, "The Role of the Business Man in American History"; "Is Oral History Worthwhile?"; "State and Local Societies, Competitors or Cooperators?"; "Are We Really Spreading the American Heritage?"; and "Is Local History Important?"

Perhaps you have heard that the Association's magazine, *American Heritage,* a popular, profusely-illustrated quarterly with many color plates, is undergoing a transformation. Beginning in December, the magazine will be published bimonthly and will be enlarged to include a condensation of an historical book in each issue. The Association will continue to sponsor the magazine, although it will now have its own publisher.

ELSEWHERE IN THE STATE

The Nutley Historical Society achieved a goal on September 26 toward which they have been working for some time when their new museum was formally opened and dedicated before a capacity audience with appropriate exercises, including the unveiling of a plaque, an interesting address, and the introduction of guests of honor rep-

resenting town and state agencies. The building which houses it was once the old Church Street School, constructed in 1875, and through the efforts of the Museum Restoration Committee, extensive repairs have been completed and a colonial garden planted. The first floor of the Nutley society's building had already been in use for over a year as a meeting room for the Society and various local organizations, and now the second floor has been converted from a dark, dirty attic into a bright, attractive museum gallery. Here will be housed permanent exhibits of Nutley's history, of which there are already over two hundred accessions. The first temporary exhibit installed for the opening illustrates Indian life and is composed of material lent through the co-operation of the Museums Council of New Jersey and various organizations and individuals in the state, including the New Jersey Historical Society. The museum is open Sundays and to interested school groups during the school day. Dr. Robert Heald is president and Miss Ann Troy was general chairman of the event.

The Paramus Historical and Preservation Society also inaugurated a new service for their members with the issuance of a new *News Bulletin* edited by Mr. Frederick W. Bogert. Mrs. Rosa Livingston, president of the Society, has sent us a copy of the first issue which contains announcements of coming events, news of local historical activities, and the first of a series of paragraphs on local historic landmarks. The Society joined with the Ridgewood Memorial Post 6489 V.F.W., Saddle River Chapter D.A.R., Ramapo Chapter D.A.R., and Paramus Chapter 6, S.A.R., in a special Independence Day service at the Paramus Church on July 4. Color guards of these organizations presented the colors of their respective groups as part of the service. Flowers for the service were given by the Society and a brief history of the role played by the Church in the American Revolution was prepared for distribution on the occasion.

The Paramus society has recently been successful in obtaining a dozen copies of an out-of-print volume, *Record Book of the Old Paramus Church,* from the Genealogical Society of New Jersey, containing records of early baptisms, a list of records from gravestones in the old cemetery, and a listing of church members in 1799. The volumes will be placed on sale.

A pilgrimage tour is planned for October 23. Starting at the Paramus Church grounds, Route 17 and Glen Avenue, Ridgewood, at 1:00 P.M., the tour will last about four hours and include houses and collections of old memorabilia connected with the Ridgewood-Midland Park area and also with Abraham Godwin and Godwinville, which is now Ridgewood.

The Demarest Family Association held their sixteenth annual meeting May 22 at the Church-on-the-Green in Hackensack. According to Mrs. Howard G. DuBois, the morning session convened at 10:55 A.M., with the president, Mr. Voorhis D. Demarest of Hackensack,

presiding. Greetings were brought to the gathering by the acting-mayor of Hackensack, Hon. Edgar Deuell, a welcome to the ladies from Mrs. Kenneth L. Demarest, and Mr. William S. Davis, president of the Bergen County Historical Society spoke of the activities of that society at the Von Steuben House.

There was the usual business meeting, with annual elections, followed by messages from the regional vice-presidents. Messages from Dr. William H. S. Demarest, honorary president and founder of the Family Association, who had just celebrated his ninety-first birthday, and from Mr. Hiram B. D. Blauvelt, honorary president, were read, as each was out-of-town. Luncheon was served in the Church parish house, the Ladies' Auxiliary of the church being in charge of this part of the program.

The afternoon session, attended by about sixty guests, featured a memorial service for deceased members. The service was read by Voorhis D. Demarest, assisted by the David Demarest Chapter D.A.R. chaplain, followed by musical features.

A report of the Old French Burying Ground at New Milford was given by Mrs. Howard G. DuBois. Boy Scout Troop 73 of New Milford has taken on the project of caring for and preserving the ancient burying ground, and in reciprocation a fund was started with which the troop could send a needy scout to camp for two weeks. The fund was over-subscribed by those attending, and it was suggested that each year this method of showing appreciation to the Boy Scouts be continued and be given in honor of Dr. William H. S. Demarest, founder of the Association.

Dr. William F. Conway, former superintendent of schools in Edgewater, was the guest speaker for the day. Dr. Conway spoke about "Burdette's Ferry in the Revolution." His talk was high-lighted by slides of rare prints of the Fort Lee and Edgewater area in early days.

During the summer (July 22nd) a morning card party and luncheon was held at the home of the historian. Proceeds of this affair were applied to a Marker Fund, for a plaque on the old 1678 Demarest House after its restoration. Through Mr. Hiram Blauvelt, president of the Demarest Memorial Foundation, Inc., the house originally standing at New Milford has been taken down. In its original location it was going to ruins, due to vandalism, topped by the recent addition of a Little League baseball field directly opposite the house. The house is being rebuilt, according to correct architectural surveys, on the grounds of the Bergen County Historical Society at New Bridge, and will become a museum to contain many early local Demarest antiques. The Historical Society headquarters are in the historic Von Steuben House on the premises.

Members of the Ocean County Historical Society heard Mrs. Olga G. Atkins, director of historic sites of the state Department of Conservation and Economic Development, speak at a regular meeting Septem-

ber 30 in the 1850 courthouse on Washington Street, Toms River. The president, Mrs. Dayton G. Hopkins of New Egypt, presided.

The executive committee of the Society held a business session and picnic on Long Beach Island in mid-August at the home of Corresponding Secretary and Mrs. Jack Lamping in Beach Haven Terrace. Membership chairman Miss Minnie Courtney of Manahawkin reports that the goal of five hundred members will be reached by the end of this year.

Several tours were taken during the summer in the southern part of the state. The Atlantic County Historical Society held their annual outing on July 10. A car pool formed at Pleasantville for a trip to Greenwich, where talks on early Greenwich were given by Mr. Mark Ewing and Mrs. Howard B. Hancock at the Friends' meeting house, followed by a visit to the Ewing house and the Wood mansion, ending with a picnic supper. The event was attended by more than one hundred persons.

An old-house tour was held at Cape May on July 4. More than twenty historic homes and buildings dating from the Revolution were opened to the public.

The Burlington County Historical Society sponsored a pilgrimage on June 26 by chartered bus to Salem and Hancock's Bridge via Swedesboro. They were guests of the Salem County Historical Society at the Alexander Grant house.

The Camden County Historical Society, according to Mr. Edgar H. Havens, curator, recently received as a gift from its trustee, Mrs. Lelia Dukes Wiggins of Haddonfield, four petitpoint mahogany chairs and a Duncan Phyffe dropleaf table. The Society has recovered practically all of the swords, guns, watches, coins and other miscellaneous items carried away when ten irresponsible 12- to 16-year-old boys broke into their museum cases recently. Prompt action by the Camden police rounded up the youths and the material before it could be disposed of.

A series of twelve volumes known as "The Decades," or "Those Were the Days," consisting of pictures and documents assembled from the Montclair Library's local history file, with accompanying text, is nearing completion. Each volume discusses and pictures Montclair under an established series of thirty-one headings: In the Eyes of Contemporaries; Local Government; Prominent Citizens; Public Schools; Private Schools; Fire Fighting; The Law; Streets; Business; Transportation; The Mail; The Church; Welfare Work; Health; Recreation; Associations; Cultural Life; Holidays; A Big Event; Mansions; Small Homes; An Interior; Family Life; Men; Women; Boys; Girls; Grandparents; A Social Affair; Groups; Facts and Figures.

The text is not intended to give a wide, general, inclusive report on any of the subjects; it in each case presents one timely aspect or one typical detail. Thus, when the series representing twelve decades is complete it will be possible to look through any one volume to sense the color of life in Montclair at

that time; or it will be possible to follow one subject, such as law, or cultural life, or women, through twelve decades.

Volume One of the series represents Montclair before 1850 and is illustrated chiefly with documents and old drawings, though a few photographs have been found for the period. The following eleven volumes represent the 1850's, the 1860's, and so on, through the 1950's, for which material is now being assembled.

The idea and the plan of the series "Those Were the Days" were suggested in 1935 by the publication of a large portfolio of pictures accompanied by text which showed life in England in the Elizabethan era. Entitled *Elizabethan England,* this was the work of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. The "Montclair Decades" have followed closely this popular and scholarly example of a portrait of a period.

The Montclair librarian chiefly responsible for the "Decades" volumes was Miss Gladys Segar, formerly reference librarian in charge of the Library's local history file, now at her family home in Hope Valley, R.I. The text is written by Miss Segar, whose interest, enthusiasm, and knowledge in the local history field are extensive. Many local people, many former residents of Montclair, other friends of the Library, and the Montclair *Times,* have contributed pictures and information.

The series, though not yet fully completed, may be studied at the Library and will be displayed elsewhere by special arrangement. It shows but one important use made of the local history file. Individual pictures have been displayed in many places and have been reproduced in numerous publications. More extensive showings of pictures have been made by Holmes, Lord & Taylor, the Municipal Building, the Montclair Women's Club, the Woman's Club of Upper Montclair, and others. Groups of pictures from the file have been reproduced by the New York *Herald-Tribune, Woman's Day,* and *Suburban Life in New Jersey.* Students, lawyers, scouts and others have made reference to the file in writing papers, checking facts for legal purposes, giving talks, and in other ways. Current pictures today are being added steadily to the file.

At the State Museum in Trenton an exhibition, "New Jersey Iron, 1674-1850," will continue through October 31. A short article based on this exhibition will be found elsewhere in the present issue.

The Edison Museum in West Orange dedicated on September 22 a replica of the "Black Maria," the world's first motion picture studio, which has been erected on the grounds of the museum. A highlight of the dedication by Thomas Alva Edison Foundation officials was the premier of the color documentary film, "The Story of Thomas Alva Edison." Edison's 1899 strip kinetograph, the world's first motion picture camera, also was on display for the first time at the museum during the dedication attended by invited guests. Edison's "Black Maria" was a tar-paper studio which revolved so its trap-door

roof could catch the strongest sun rays. The inventor carried on his motion-picture-taking experiments in the building and the films and experiments made there were father to the movie industry.

Early in July the Ocean County Board of Chosen Freeholders officially adopted an Ocean County flag, featuring a circlet of gold with a red and white replica of Barnegat Lighthouse in a field of sky blue. It was designed by sixteen-year-old Sandra Pier, a junior student at Point Pleasant Beach High School, the winner of a county-wide competition conducted by the Ocean County Historical Society under the leadership of Mrs. Dayton G. Hopkins of New Egypt, president. Miss Pier was presented with a U.S. Savings Bond in the state house in a ceremony before Acting-Governor W. Steelman Mathis, president of the New Jersey Senate.

The new official emblem was first flown at the head of the 1954 Big Sea Day parade in greater Point Pleasant, August 14, after it had been presented to Governor Robert B. Meyner, honorary grand marshal. Each time it is flown, the flag is accompanied by a red and gold standard pennant bearing the name of the sponsoring organization, "Ocean County Historical Society." At present, plans are under way to secure smaller copies of the official Ocean County flag so they may be distributed among classes of the public schools to promote understanding and respect for Ocean County, its history, its government, and the achievements of its people, Mrs. Hopkins explains.

On July 10, in the shadow of historic Barnegat Lighthouse (built 1856-58 under Lt. George Gordon Meade, U. S. Army Engineers), Ocean County Freeholders Alfred W. Brown, Jr., A. Paul King, and Harold Chafey, director, dedicated a museum in the old-time one-room schoolhouse for the new Barnegat Light Historical Society. The colorful building will also serve as the meeting place for the Borough Council, whose mayor, the honorable George Histand, took part in the outdoor ceremonies, along with the charter president, Mrs. Charles M. Butler.

Mr. Brown, first clerk of the Borough (incorporated 1904), was the main speaker, telling in highly personal terms of its early history and recalling the work of Barnegat Light pioneers at the turn of the century. Festivities included singing by the Barnegat Chorus under the direction of Newton Stiteler, and gay Scandinavian dances by children of the Norse fisherfolk who comprise the fishing colony in this Long Beach Island resort. State Commissioner of Conservation and Economic Development Dr. Joseph McLean was officially represented by Mrs. Arlene R. Sayre, editor of the Department, and James McDonald, superintendent in charge of restoration of the lighthouse as an official state park for New Jersey.

The museum houses an interesting seafaring collection associated with the sailing days of Long Beach Island history, when the "Grand Old Champion of the Tides" kept guard over the inlet and shoals. Established as "Barnegat City," the

resort changed its name in 1949 to accommodate the tradition of the lighthouse, which first rose above the sea as a stone marker as early as 1834. The Barnegat Light Historical Society already has over 150 members supporting its program, a very good record indeed.

With the co-operation of the Newark Section of the National Council of Jewish Women, the Newark Public Library is holding an exhibition commemorating the three-hundredth anniversary of the settlement of Jews in America. The opening ceremonies were held on September 20 with the Hon. Sidney Goldmann as guest speaker. Words of greeting were also heard from Mayor Leo P. Carlin, Dr. Nicholas W. Sivolella, president of the Library Board of Trustees, and Mrs. Harry A. Greene, president of the Newark Section N.C.J.W. The exhibition, which occupies the second and third floor galleries of the library, will continue through October 20.

WORKS IN PROGRESS

William H. Mariboe is working on a biography of William Franklin in fulfillment of the requirement for a Ph.D. degree under Dr. Roy F. Nichols at the University of Pennsylvania.

George J. Muzsikos of 244 North 17th Street, Bloomfield, is gathering information for a book on the Sandford purchase of the Paulus Hook area and subsequent events leading to the discovery and operation of the Schuyler copper mine.

Herbert G. Hagerty of 63 Arsdale Terrace, East Orange, has just completed a paper on the Jacksonian Era in New Jersey, under the direction of Professor Richard A. Hofstadter of Columbia University, in New York City.

NEW JERSEY IN PRINT

MIRIAM V. STUDLEY

A growing realization today of New Jersey's importance in American history is indicated in the number of volumes now appearing on different facets of New Jersey life and history. Reviews of several books not discussed in this issue are scheduled for publication in the January and April numbers. It has been the policy of this department to review only books which directly concern New Jersey persons, places, or events. Occasional comment may, however, be made on some more general work which throws light on the Jersey scene or draws attention to some little-known phase of our history. The librarian of the Society and the editors of the PROCEEDINGS are grateful to authors and publishers who have sent us volumes for review.

The Society has received from Alphaeus H. Albert of Highttown a copy of his *Washington Historical Buttons,* published in 1949. Mr. Albert, who is a life member of the National Button Society, is preparing for the press a *Record of American Uniform and Historical Buttons.* Uniforms in the museum of the New Jersey Historical Society were recently studied by Mr. Albert and by Mrs. Albert, who is editor of the *National Button Bulletin.*

A most important contribution to the study of New Jersey history is the index to the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* which publishes much about this state and its leaders. Covering the first seventy-five volumes, 1877-1951, it was edited by Eugene E. Doll and published in 1954 by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The high cost, sixty dollars, makes it strictly a library item. The 1170 pages of this index contain two entire columns under the heading "New Jersey," plus countless references, in the regular alphabetical arrangement, to places and people of this state.

Authors of the reviews which follow include several scholars well known to this society. George Adams Boyd, of New York City and Middletown, N. Y., is the author of *Elias Boudinot, Patriot and Statesman,* reviewed in the April 1953 PROCEEDINGS. John E. Pomfret has been since 1951 the director of the Huntington Library and Art Gallery in San Marino, California. In 1949 Dr. Pomfret, then president of the College of William and Mary, addressed the annual meeting of this society on the history of the province of West New Jersey. His interest in New Jersey history dates back to thirteen years of association with the history department of Princeton

University. W. Maxwell Reed, formerly a resident of Montclair, now lives in Coral Gables, Florida. A graduate of Harvard, he is well known as an author of science popularizations, of which the latest is *Patterns in the Sky, the Story of Constellations* (1954). Adrian C. Leiby, who lives in Bergenfield, is a lawyer practicing in New York City. He is greatly interested in the Dutch in New Jersey, particularly of Bergen County, and has done much research on the subject. Julia Sabine is the author of "Books and Libraries in Newark to 1847," in the October 1953 issue of this magazine. Another article, "Silversmiths of New Jersey," appeared in the July 1943 issue. Miss Sabine is a member of the Newark Public Library staff.

REVIEWS

"Sir Edmund Plowden and the Province of New Albion, 1632-1650," by Father William Keller. *Historical Records and Studies, The United States Catholic Historical Society, XLI* (1953), pages 42-70.

An American settlement that never materialized, that of Sir Edmund Plowden's "New Albion," has continued to tantalize historians for a century. The newly-published *Index of the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (1877-1951) contains a dozen references to this subject, although the west bank of the Delaware never specifically figured in Plowden's plans. Father Keller takes up the discussion of Plowden and New Albion where Clifford Lewis 3d left it in 1940.

The Plowden story begins with an instrument of Charles I in 1632 authorizing the Lords Justices of Ireland to grant Sir Edmund the territory of Long Island and the adjoining mainland, 120 miles square; and it ends in 1796 with Charles Varlo's final effort to secure compensation for the Plowden family.

In this able article Father Keller examines the history of the grant, its validity, Plowden's abortive attempts to establish a settlement in southern New Jersey, his sojourn in Virginia and his adventures there, and his last years in England. His comparison of the Plowden charter with that for Maryland is noteworthy, especially with respect to the question of religious toleration.

Why did the New Albion experiment fail while so many other colonizing ventures succeeded, queries Father Keller. First, Plowden lacked the requisite qualities of leadership. Like John Fenwick of a later day, he was headstrong, quarrelsome, and litigious. Secondly, Plowden procrastinated until 1642, when the Swedes had firmly established themselves on the Delaware. Thirdly, Plowden lacked sufficient financial resources to plant a settlement. Finally, the political situation in England was hardly propitious because the Civil War resulted in a restriction of needed supplies and of a flow of emigrants. "If the purpose of the settlement of New Albion could be demonstrated to have been a Catholic ref-

uge, or even, as seems most probable, if the support of Catholics was relied on to any considerable extent, this factor," writes Father Keller, "must be listed among the causes of failure." The English Catholic element belonged principally to the gentry and the nobility and in spite of disabilities was reluctant to emigrate to a new, unsettled region. George Calvert experienced a similar difficulty during the same period in attracting Catholic settlers to Maryland.—JOHN E. POMFRET.

A House Called Morven, Its Role in American History, 1701-1954. By ALFRED HOYT BILL. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1954. 206 pages.

One of the evidences of maturity in a nation is the increasing reverence paid to its historic shrines. In this process, public buildings such as Independence Hall come early. Later on, residences such as Mount Vernon and Monticello are rescued from decay. As government eventually takes over, private initiative turns to the preservation of homes that architecture or family tradition, rather than the memory of one great man, has made representative of the American past. Of such is Morven, in the borough of Princeton. The publication of its story, covering 253 years, constitutes an important event in the field of Jerseyana.

A home designed for gracious living inevitably shapes to some degree the personalities of those who dwell within its walls. Conversely, the soul of a house derives from the men and women—yes, and children—who have constituted the march of the generations under its roof. The reader follows with mounting interest the career of each master and mistress of Morven until they are laid to rest and the place "was again lively and gay with a brood of boys and girls . . ." Nor are the collateral relatives forgotten. Mr. Bill, though never losing sight of the main theme, has re-created for us the Stockton family in all its diversity of character.

The opening chapter disappoints, through no fault of the author. The Richard Stockton who built the central part of the house, probably in 1701, is little more than a name. His son John, who added one-story wings and played a leading part in bringing the infant College of New Jersey to Princeton, is a shadowy, though attractive, figure. It comes as somewhat of a shock to learn as early as page 18 that "The Stockton Place," even before John Stockton's death, was already half a century old. Our pioneering ancestors were not very articulate, being otherwise busy, and such Stockton records as were committed to paper were destroyed when the British, upon evacuating Princeton in January, 1777, set fire to Morven's east wing.

John Stockton had deeded the house and part of the homestead plantation to his eldest son, Richard, sometime before his own death in 1757. Richard the Signer becomes a living personality in these pages. Mr. Bill writes with sympathy and understanding of his flight from Morven before the advancing Brit-

ish, of his capture in Monmouth County, of the brutal treatment meted out to him in prison, and of his subsequent taking of the oath, under duress, to "remain in a peaceful Obedience to His Majesty . . ." Returning to a pillaged home in January, 1777, Richard Stockton, possessed of "ready courtesy and affability to high and low," died a lingering death in 1781.

Annis Boudinot Stockton survived her husband by twenty years. The most vivid of all the mistresses of Morven, Annis gave the house its present name, after the hall of the mythical King Fingal, celebrated in James Macpherson's literary forgery, attributed to the Gaelic bard Ossian. The daughter of "a tradesman of decaying fortune," Annis was handsome, intelligent, cultured, and energetic. Truly, Richard Stockton's "most fortunate achievement was his marriage."

Annis was a poetess of no mean order. Mr. Bill quotes from odes and other verses addressed to her husband, to Elizabeth Graeme Ferguson and to George Washington, with such an admirable sense of proportion that the reader, far from being surfeited, wishes for more. One poem elicited a uniquely humorous letter from the Father of His Country.

These were Morven's great days. Dr. Benjamin Rush, like Richard Stockton a Signer of the Declaration of Independence, was the latter's son-in-law. Another Signer, Dr. Witherspoon, was president of the college. To the house came Annis' brother, Elias Boudinot, when as president of the Continental Congress he adjourned its sessions from Philadelphia to Princeton. The dining room candles shone upon Washington, Hamilton, Madison, the Marquis de La Luzerne, and many another person of distinction.

Some time before her death in 1801, Annis had left Morven in the possession of her son, another Richard Stockton, known even from an early age as "the Old Duke" because of his commanding stature and dignified reserve. A leader of the New Jersey bar, Richard the younger was far less colorful than his parents or many of his nine children. Nevertheless, Mr. Bill has succeeded in bringing him to life.

In Robert Field Stockton, the Old Duke's eldest surviving son, the author finds an intriguing subject. The reader, too, will echo the judgment of a contemporary, "The Commodore is irresistible." He was "the navy's problem child." Whether penetrating the African jungle to confront a sullen chieftain, fighting a duel on Gibraltar in defiance of British regulations, sponsoring the Delaware and Raritan Canal, building the first propellor-driven warship, securing California for the United States, serving in the Senate or dispensing open-handed hospitality at Morven, Robert was always "The Magnificent."

With his death in 1866, the story perforce becomes somewhat anticlimactic. There is a lively vignette of Samuel Witham Stockton ("Major Sam"). The Reverend Dr. Charles Woodruff Shields purchased the house in 1891 as a home for his

son-in-law, Bayard Stockton, who had married, first Charlotte Julia, and then Helen Hamilton Shields. The loving care lavished upon the property by Dr. Shields and his daughter Helen arouses our interest in their personalities, here not too clearly defined. Understandably but regrettably, an historian's characterizations become sketchier as he approaches the contemporary scene.

Morven was rented to Robert W. Johnson of New Brunswick from 1928 to 1954. Though a tenant, General Johnson undertook at his own expense a program of rehabilitation in the best Stockton tradition. Walter E. Edge and his wife Camilla purchased the property in the latter year. Governor Edge, in a brief foreword, has described how from the beginning he planned eventually to present Morven to the state to be used as an executive mansion or a museum. The transfer, consummated within the past year, was an act of munificence quite in keeping with the *genius loci*.

Fittingly, the book closes with an essay on the architecture of Morven by George B. Tatum, vice-dean of the School of Fine Arts, University of Pennsylvania. From this, the lay reader obtains a knowledge of colonial architecture in general, as well as of Morven itself.

Alfred Hoyt Bill is no mere local historian. He ranks as an authority on the Revolutionary, Mexican, and Civil Wars. Surely, however, not the least of his satisfactions must be that with the publication of *A House Called Morven*, following his earlier *The Campaign of Princeton*, his name becomes forever associated in the annals of Mercer County with those of Varnum Lansing Collins and John Frelinghuysen Hageman.—GEORGE ADAMS BOYD.

The Rittenhouse Orrery. By HOWARD C. RICE, JR. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Library, 1954. xii + 88 pages. Price $2.50.

David Rittenhouse built an orrery, which was bought in 1771 by the "college" now Princeton University. Rittenhouse was a clockmaker of Pennsylvania and the orrery was used in teaching for about fifty years. It was early said to "display the glorious system of Copernicus in proper manner" and to "represent the motions of the heavenly bodies according to the system of Newton and Copernicus."

David Rittenhouse (1732-1796), a member of the American Philosophical Society, was proud to call himself a "Newtonian philosopher." He and his contemporaries were mostly teachers of the "Newtonian philosophy." So they were interested in the many books of that time that described and explained these great principles. Rittenhouse wrote in 1775: "It was now time for the great master-builder to appear, who was to rear up this whole splendid group of materials into due order and proportion. And it was, I make no doubt, by a particular appointment of Providence, that at this time the immortal Newton appeared."

In order to explain more clearly the Copernican system, Rittenhouse made a mechanical model of the

solar system. It was so devised that as the earth revolved around the sun, the moon revolved around the earth. Then Mercury, Venus, and Mars all took their places and joined in the circular motion around the sun. It is called an orrery.

Rittenhouse is quoted as follows: "I did not (i.e., I do not wish to) design a machine which should give the ignorant in astronomy a just view of the solar system, but would rather astonish the skilful and curious examiner by a most accurate correspondence between the situations and the motions of our little representatives of the heavenly bodies, and the situations and motions of these bodies themselves."

It was then more necessary than it would be now to demonstrate that the planets revolve around the sun. It was only a little over two hundred years before this date that Copernicus died. In those days revolutionary ideas in science spread more slowly than now. Also there was tremendous opposition to the idea that the earth was not at the center of the universe. Consequently, a mechanical device to visualize this novel idea was extremely desirable from the point of view of the scientists of those days. Today this bit of apparatus is an interesting link between our age and the age of Copernicus.

There is a large orrery perhaps twenty feet in diameter in the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. Usually there is a gilded ball that represents the sun. By ingenious mechanisms the planets are made to revolve around this gilded sun. In some elaborate orreries, the miniature moon is made to revolve around the tiny ball that is called "the earth."

Nowadays children are taught so early in life that the earth revolves around the sun, that when they have grown up they cannot remember that they ever doubted it. Yet to prove it by means of observation would not be easy for even a high school student, if he did not have Copernicus to lean upon.

Therefore, this entertaining description of an early orrery that was used for decades to teach the students of Princeton, has great historical interest.—W. Maxwell Reed.

Background of Ho-Ho-Kus History. By Sue F. Hudson. Ho-Ko-Kus, N. J.: The Woman's Club, 1953. 187+xi pages.

There are at least sixteen possible derivations of the name Ho-Ho-Kus, few related to each other and probably none related to fact. No vulgarian has ever felt too poor in spirit to gibe at the double-dashed name, yet Ho-Ho-Kus, one of the most attractive of small suburban communities, is "no village suddenly sprung up from nothingness . . . It was old when Chicago was a trading post in the mud . . . when the Pacific and the mountains alone claimed . . . San Francisco."

Mrs. Hudson tells the story of Ho-Ho-Kus well, from the days when the Lenni Lenape lived there in sapling and bark wigwams to the present day of the real estate developer. The Zabriskies, the Hop-

pers, the Bogerts, the Ackermans, and the Terhunes (to use the present spellings—the *Background of Ho-Ho-Kus History* sometimes allows itself the luxury of taking the most picturesque variants) were the first white landholders of the settlement, the Hopper family having given Ho-Ho-Kus its first name of Hopper Town.

From the conflicting stories of early land ownership and family traditions of Indian terror, Mrs. Hudson has outlined the earliest Dutch days. From a good deal of research she has reconstructed the lives and times of the hardy Dutch farmers before bounties and progress destroyed the "wolves, panters and Redd foxes" that once infested the Saddle River valley. She tells too of the early days of the nearby Paramus Dutch Reformed Church: its rush-bottomed chairs, its *voorleser,* its footwarmers, and long sermons. The only thing missing is the truly Dutch tale of the Paramus voorleser who was once enjoined to modulate his voice more pleasingly or give up his work.

Ho-Ho-Kus and Paramus were in the center of the Sonmans land title disputes, and their fine Dutch houses did not escape the Revolution; indeed Paramus was the scene of one of the few Revolutionary battles in Bergen County, though few other counties on the continent more often felt the marching feet of the main British and American armies. Washington generally maintained a considerable force of American troops in and near Paramus, from the days of the first British invasion of New York until Washington's own troops passed through the place on their way to Yorktown. Among the famous places of Paramus is the romantic "Hermitage," the home of the celebrated widow Prevost, friend of Washington, bride of Aaron Burr, confidante of Peggy Shippen Arnold, the historic old brown mansion where Major Prevost left his bride when he went away to Jamaica and died of the fever.

The author assumes that it was the victim of depression who was the Jersey Dutch revolutionist, the substantial farmer who was the Tory. This is a view so congenial to modern minds that it would be folly to try to dislodge it, even in Ho-Ho-Kus, where some tangible evidence still remains of the wealth and standing of its distinguished townsman Garret Hopper and where some solid citizens still remember the contempt of their forebears for worthless Tories.

More remarkable, perhaps, than the material about the Revolution is the wealth of data about less historic days, the days of the beginnings of the Paterson and Ramapo Rail Road, the early mills, the camp meetings, the first schools, the battles over the names New Prospect, Orvil and Undercliff, the undercurrents of rivalry with once tiny Godwinville—Ridgewood—the strawberry industry, the training days. The two great floods are given their due place in history.

A historically-minded resident left Ho-Ho-Kus fine source material about the period of the Civil War; another collected information about the early mills and early commut-

ing; and Mrs. Hudson has added a great deal more from her own research. The student of the 1860-1900 period will welcome this new addition to the narrow shelf of literature on the early Jersey commuter. Indeed there is no need to stop at 1900. Perhaps the most fascinating parts of the book, to nostalgic middle-aged readers at least, are Mrs. Hudson's tales and photographs of later days: the Paterson-Suffern interurban cars; the Ho-Ho-Kus Race Track, the celebrated dead-man's curve on the road to Suffern, where early motorists deceived themselves about a gentle curve that killed some of them; the ancient trees, now fallen.

Background of Ho-Ho-Kus History is an example of what earnest research will uncover about a small town. It should be for a long time an inspiration for civic historians discouraged about the apparent lack of local material.—ADRIAN LEIBY.

The Traitor and the Spy: Benedict Arnold and John Andre. By JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1953. 413 pages.

The anatomy of treason has a peculiar cogency for our times, and this book is a study in treason. What Mr. Flexner has done is to take the two protagonists in the treason plot, Benedict Arnold and John Andre, investigate their lives and carry their development separately, until the moments of their common cause. Both Arnold and Andre longed for glory, position, and money, and considered these commodities their due. Arnold went after his objectives with the recklessness of the born gambler, Andre used his undoubted gifts of courtliness and tact. The American was almost unbelievably insensitive to the effect his actions would have on others; he was so convinced of his own right to act, take chances, or connive for his own ends that he never considered the implications of his actions in a country at war. The Englishman was the mediator *par excellence,* he could charm the ladies, his enemies, or his fellow soldiers, yet, he wanted to be a public hero, so as to secure his appointment as adjutant and, led by that desire, he acted as a common spy.

Using insights based on psychological knowledge, Mr. Flexner has woven his book around the central theme of why these two people, in many ways so different, developed as they did and why they finally joined in the plan to surrender West Point. Not least among the reasons was Peggy Shippen, Arnold's second wife and one of the ladies charmed by Andre when he was in Philadelphia. Peggy's guilt in the treason plot is attested by Aaron Burr, who married Mrs. Theodora Prevost, Peggy's confidante. Though Burr may not be considered the most truthful of witnesses, there seems little doubt that Peggy was more than an innocent bystander.

Now the pattern of treason emerges: two men, different in character yet each denied the recognition that he considers his due; a young woman, beautiful and charming, with a logical scheming mind,

also frustrated in her desire for position and luxury. What will these three do? They will need to perform a great deed, gain great applause, and be fittingly rewarded. In their arrogance, Peggy and Benedict Arnold never thought that anyone could be so stupid as not to acknowledge the rightness of their actions. Readers of Rebecca West's reporting of the treason trials in England will recognize the lineaments of the traitor—the man whose rightness is so pure that he is not concerned with the law, his fellow man, or his nation.

As so often happens, it is a small thing which sets in motion the downfall. If the boatman had not been "too tired" to row Andre out to the *Vulture,* the end of the story might have been very different. Arnold was left to reap the financial rewards of his treason, but his proud name has become synonymous with treachery. Andre died on the gallows, a common spy. As for Peggy, after an attempt to play the innocent wife in Philadelphia, she was forced to join her husband in exile and watch him spend himself in schemes to rehabilitate his name and his fortune.

This is the kind of book it is almost impossible to stop reading, once begun. The interplay of the three main characters keeps the reader interested from beginning to end. The sustaining notes for each chapter are gathered in one section at the end of the book so as not to interrupt the flow of the narrative. For libraries and others who wish more full information a special pamphlet on the "source references" is available from the publishers, Harcourt, Brace & Company, New York.—Julia Sabine.

THE PERIODICAL PRESS

Again our indexing must be limited to strictly historical and genealogical articles, until such time as there are fewer important books to review. However, pertinent material on New Jersey in national and local magazines is being indexed on cards which are filed in the New Jersey Division of the Newark Public Library. Arranged by subject, these cards may be consulted at any time during library hours. They form a valuable adjunct to books, clippings, and bibliographies on New Jersey and its people.

A new quarterly magazine of local history interest is *Names,* the journal of the American Name Society, whose first issue appeared in March 1953. Browsing through the first six numbers, one turns up scattered New Jersey material, particularly in the section "Names and Trains" which appears in several issues.

"American Collections of Stereoscopic Photographs," by Lorraine Dexter, in *Eye to Eye,* June 1954, pp. 5, 18. A notice of an interesting collection belonging to Mrs. B. F. Tillson of Montclair.

"Andover Moves West" by Fritz L. Kramer, in *Names,* September 1953, pp. 188-91.

"Biographical Sketch of Catholina

Lambert," in *Bulletin* of the Passaic County Historical Society, May 1954, pp. 2-10. The builder and the building of Lambert Castle on Garret Mountain Slope, now the home of the Passaic County Historical Society museum. Description of that society's museum is included in the *Bulletin,* pages 10-11.

"Cape Island Becomes a Resort," by Robert C. Alexander, in *Cape May County Magazine of History and Genealogy,* June 1954, pp. 289-300.

"'Catastrophe in the Wilderness,' New Light on the Canada Expedition of 1709," by Bruce T. McCully, in *William and Mary Quarterly,* July 1954, pp. 441-56. New Jersey militia had part in this campaign. A letter in the New Jersey Historical Society from a member of the expedition contributes to the author's conclusions.

"Charles Beatty, Wilderness Churchman," by Guy S. Klett, in *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society,* September 1954, pp. 143-58.

"Christopher Colles and His Two American Map Series," by Lloyd W. Griffin, in *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America,* Second Quarter, 1954, pp. 170-82. His 1789 "Survey of the Roads of the United States of America" includes New Jersey roads personally measured by him.

"Cities of New Jersey: Merchantville," by R. H. Yard, in *New Jersey Bell,* June 1954, pp. 12-14, 16.

"Development of Seaside Resorts of Cape May County," by Robert Bright, in *Cape May County Magazine of History and Genealogy,* June 1954, pp. 316-19.

"The Empty Areas of the Northeastern United States," by Lester E. Klimm, in *Geographical Review,* July 1954, pp. 325-45. Discussion of causes, character, and extent; includes New Jersey pine barrens and northern mountain area, illustrated by large map.

"Featuring Early Cape May Countians," in *Cape May County Magazine of History and Genealogy,* June 1954, pp. 314-15. Reproductions of eight silhouettes of early Cape May residents, including Dr. Maurice Beesley (1804-1882), author of the first history of Cape May County.

"The Four Horsemen of Atlantic City," by Richard G. Moser and Roland Sawyer, in *Reader's Digest,* September 1954, pp. 73-78. Crime and political corruption.

"Gilbert Tennent, Dynamic Preacher," by Frederick W. Brink, in *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society,* June 1954, pp. 91-108.

"Izard Family," by Margaret Irwin McVicker, in *Cape May County Magazine of History and Genealogy,* June 1954, pp. 301-08. Line of Michael Izard, ancestor of Cape May Izards.

"John Grace the Revolutionary War Scout (1777-1783)," by Perla S. Scull, in *Cape May County Magazine of History and Genealogy,* June 1954, pp. 320-26. Account of the unveiling ceremonies to John Grace, trusted scout of George Washington, including a

history of him by a descendant, Mrs. Scull.

"Jonathan Swift and the American Episcopate," by Jordan D. Fiore, in *William and Mary Quarterly,* July 1954, pp. 425-33. Discussion of Governor Hunter's desire to make Jonathan Swift bishop of New York and New Jersey, with seat at Burlington, in 1713.

"Labor Day—Its Birth and Meaning, and a Prophecy Since Fulfilled," in *New Jersey Labor Herald,* August 1954, p. 6. Reprint of an article on Labor Day by its founder Peter J. McGuire of New Jersey.

"Memories of a Wall Street Suburb," by Van Wyck Brooks, in *Saturday Review of Literature,* March 6, 1954, pp. 9-10 *ff.* Chapter on Plainfield, from his "Scenes and Portraits."

"Museum Acquires Holland Papers," in *Science Monthly,* July-August 1954, pp. 7-8. Personal letters, sketches, blue prints, etc., of John P. Holland, submarine inventor, a permanent gift to Paterson Museum. Full text of inventor's manuscript describing May 1878 submarine tests in Passaic River was published in Paterson *Evening News,* July 12, 1954.

"Music of Old Cape May," by Helen Y. Shields, in *Cape May County Magazine of History and Genealogy,* June 1954, pp. 327-29.

"A Mysterious Pastellist Identified," by Irwin F. Cortelyou, in *Antiques,* August 1954, pp. 122-24. Identifies the New Jersey artist who painted during the early part of the nineteenth century, about 1815-30, mostly in the Monmouth County area, as Micah Williams. Illustrated with copies of several of his paintings.

"The Mystery of Harold Hoffman," by Harold M. Martin, in *Saturday Evening Post,* October 23, 1954, pp. 17-18 *ff.* The late Harold G. Hoffman, one-time governor of New Jersey, Congressman, latterly director of the state Division of Employment Security, and self-confessed embezzler.

"The Old Barracks—Trenton's Famous Building," by Karl G. Hastedt, in *Trenton Magazine,* August 1954, p. 9 *ff.* Detailed account of architecture, history, restoration, and present activities, includes reference to replicas at fairs and expositions in 1915, 1926, 1939.

"Old House Tours of Cape May County," by Sarah A. Thomas, in *Cape May County Magazine of History and Genealogy,* June 1954, pp. 309-11. Account of five tours to houses, churches, and public buildings, taken one each year 1949-53, and prospectus of one to be taken in July 1954.

"Queen of Resorts, Atlantic City Knew What It Wanted from Its Infancy," by Harold F. Wilson, in *American Heritage,* Summer 1954, pp. A4h-A9h. An illustrated article on the growth of Atlantic City as it celebrates its hundredth anniversary this year.

"Richard Falle-Falley and Some of His Descendants Including Grover Cleveland," by Margaret D. Falley, in *New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* July 1954, pp. 193-202. Continuation.